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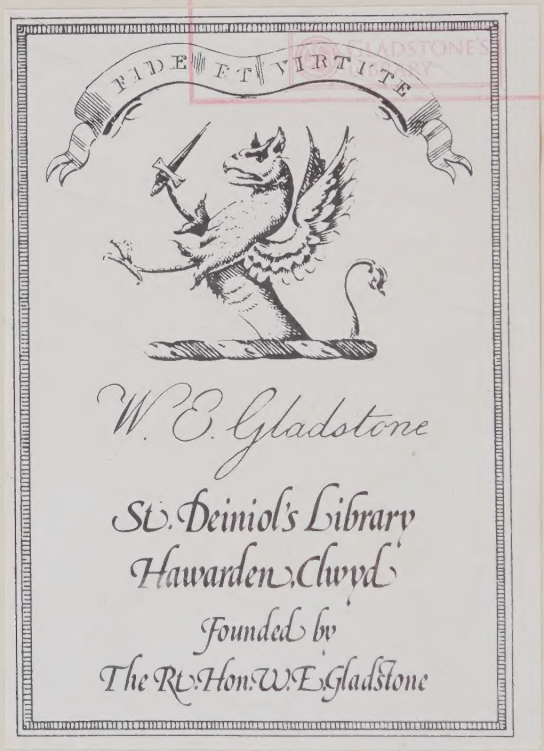

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BIBLICAL ANTHROPOLOGY

COMPARED WITH AND ILLUSTRATED BY THE FOLKLORE OF EUROPE AND THE CUSTOMS OF PRIMITIVE PEOPLES

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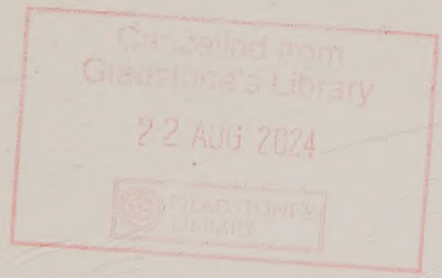

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TO

MY WIFE

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION

OF THE HELP SHE HAS

UNGRUDGINGLY AND DEVOTEDLY ACCORDED

TOWARDS THE PRODUCTION OF IT

I DEDICATE

THIS BOOK

PREFACE

THE chapters of which this book is composed were most of them contributed at various times to the periodicals named later on ; they have been arranged to form a continuous study in Anthropology, as light is thrown by that science upon many passages in the Bible which are otherwise obscure, and upon the general trend of the ancient traditions of the Hebrews which testify to the hold upon them, down to the historic period, of ideas and influences derived from the earliest strata of our race.

As throwing additional light upon these traditions of the Hebrews I have included studies on Tree- and Pillar-Worship generally (first read before the Royal Society of Literature), and upon Religious Dances and that almost universal symbol known as the Swastika. The two concluding chapters show how the ideas which permeate the Old Testament continued to hold sway over the minds of the people in the age with which the New Testament deals, as they do among the peasantry and half-educated people in Europe to-day, and furnish suggestions to teachers of religion as to the best way in which to bring modern knowledge to bear upon those whom they are set to teach.

To the Editors of *The Hibbert Journal*, *The Quest*, *The Modern Churchman*, and *The Interpreter* (now, alas, defunct), I tender my warmest thanks for the permission given to publish in this book the articles, revised and enlarged, which first appeared in their pages. Chapters I–IV and XI–XV appeared in *The Quest*; Chapter V in *The Hibbert Journal*; Chapters VI–IX in *The Interpreter*; and Chapters XVIII and XIX in *The Modern Churchman*; the rest now appear for the first time.

My thanks are due to the Readers of the Oxford University Press for most careful reading and correcting of the proofs, and for many helpful hints and suggestions.

H. J. D. ASTLEY.

February 1929.

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CHAPTER I

NATURISM OR PRE-ANIMISM

IN 1918 Sir J. G. Frazer's great work on *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, in three volumes, was published, a review of which will be found in a succeeding chapter of this book.

Our subject in this and the three following chapters is both wider and more restricted than his. Our endeavour will be to discover the bearing of Anthropology and the traces left by Animism and Totemism on the pages of the Old Testament, though we shall not develop any particular points with the abundance of detail provided by him.

Until recently it was the habit, more particularly in England, where supporters of the traditional views may still be found, to place the Bible on a plane by itself as a volume of verbally inspired materials, and to think that only so could it be, in any true sense, a revelation. Moses was the author of the Pentateuch, the inspired narrator of the fortunes of the race and of his own people up to the time of their entry into Canaan, the giver of the Law, the promulgator of the ritual system; David wrote the Book of Psalms; Solomon wrote Proverbs, Canticles, and Ecclesiastes; the Historical Books from Joshua to Chronicles and Ezra and Nehemiah were regarded as equally valuable in all parts as a narrative of events that actually occurred, so that no distinction was drawn between the narratives of the sun and moon standing still, or the taking of Jericho, in the Book of Joshua, and such events as the reformations of Hezekiah and Josiah, the Exile, or the Return; the Books of the Prophets, including Daniel, were all written by the men whose names they bear.

But, it is hardly necessary for me to say, such a naïve and infantile view of the origin of the books which formed the literature of the Old Testament has been rendered impossible for all students, and, indeed, for all who are willing to allow facts to speak for themselves—to use the method of induction to co-ordinate observed phenomena, instead of determining beforehand by traditional methods what the facts should be and deducing therefrom what must have been God's method of

revelation—by the labours of a succession of scholars, beginning with Jean Astruc in France more than 100 years ago. Of these Germany has, perhaps, produced the larger number, whose greatest names are Graf and Wellhausen, while Holland produced Kuenen, and England Drs. Cheyne and Driver, whose names add a lustre to the scholarship of their native country.

No detailed exposition of the results attained is needful for us; they are now well known. Suffice it, that through these results, which are based on a sure foundation of inductive principles, we have learnt, as no previous generation could, to recognize that the Old Testament is a literature and that the Books of which it consists are composite productions emanating from many minds, and belonging to successive stages in Israel's progress—the Prophetic, or the stage of the early development of Yahwism from the tenth to the seventh century B.C.; the Deuteronomic, or reformed cultus of Jeremiah and his successors in the days of Josiah; and the Priestly, or Post-Exilic development of the Church-nation and its ritual under Ezra and his successors.

To quote words written by myself more than thirty years ago: 'The Higher Criticism has taught us to "recognize" (1) *the progressive character of revelation*. Just as no river bursts full-born from the mountain-side, but issues in a tiny rill which, as it descends, gathers to itself other rills which swell and swell its volume until it forms the majestic river rolling placidly to the sea; so Revelation and the Old Testament, its record, ran a similar course. Beginning with the first small law-book and the records of the early traditions of the race, swollen, as it descended the hills of time, by new codes and new laws, by prophecy and psalm, by history and drama, it becomes at last the majestic River of God rolling onwards, till it is merged in the ocean of God's Love, as it is revealed in Jesus Christ.'

It has taught us also to 'recognize (2) *the composite character of the Old Testament generally and of the Hexateuch in particular*. Just as the geologist, if he would learn the history of the formation of the earth's crust, must examine and break up the rocks, and in so doing finds evidence that they were originally deposited in strata of varying depths and in a definite order of succession at different ages, though now commingled in appa-

rently hopeless confusion until the wand of science makes them tell their tale; so is it with the Old Testament as we have it to-day. The eye of the critical student discovers the strata deposited at different periods of the nation's history, and can read the story of a uniform and consistent progress and development.' [1]

The earliest writings that have come down to us practically in the shape in which they left the hands of their authors are the books of the prophets Amos and Hosea; and about contemporary with these were the writers who fused the Yahwistic history known as J, with the Elohistic history known as E, into the composite document known as JE, which runs through the Hexateuch and the Book of Judges as they have come down to us, and the earliest writers of the Books of Samuel and Kings, which suffered afterwards drastic Deuteronomic revision.

Although these writings are themselves much later than was formerly supposed, yet modern knowledge of the primitive races of mankind enables us to detect in them, as also in the still later Deuteronomic and priestly documents, relics of far more ancient days. We now know that the ancestors of Israel must have passed through identical stages in the evolution of culture and religion with those that have been experienced by all the civilized races, and with them, as with us, these relics of the past survive in their literature in the guise of superstition, and above all in folk-lore and folk-customs.

Coincidently with the critical study of the documents which make up the divine library of the Old Testament—a study which has enabled the student to arrange the documents on a scientific basis, and thus to trace the development and progress of the religion of Israel along the lines which it followed from pre-animism and animism through polytheism to monolatry and monotheism—there has come into being the science of Anthropology. This is largely due to the labours of the late Sir E. B. Tylor, whose *Primitive Culture* laid the firm foundations of a structure to which others, particularly the Fellows of the Royal Anthropological Institute, and travellers like Miss Mary Kingsley and many missionaries, have been, and

[1] Astley, 'Date of the Samaritan Pentateuch', *The Thinker* (1892), vol. ii, pp. 307–8.

are continually, making additions. Sir E. B. Tylor's book is itself a possession for ever, and by means of it Anthropology passed at a single step out of the pioneering stage into that of assured results. At the same time we must not forget the work of MacLennan, who was an actual pioneer, and the spade-work of Messrs. Spencer and Gillen, Howitt, and others too numerous to mention.

Under the guidance of these masters we have learnt, from a study of the primitive races now existing on the earth, to know something of the earliest ideas of mankind, and to realize that ideas which are found among the civilized peoples only in the form of folk-lore and, as we have been wont to call it, superstition, are really survivals of more primitive stages of culture up to the earliest, and there must have been a time when these ideas were of the same living significance among the ancestors of those peoples as they are among the representatives of those ancestors to-day.

For one of the surest results of Anthropology is this: that it has enabled us to lay down as an axiom that man is everywhere and always the same, that is, that at corresponding stages of culture he will be found to possess identical religious ideas and social arrangements, and that, further, relics or survivals of his earliest ideas and arrangements will be found at every stage in the advancing culture of the higher races. The reason why there should be advance and progress among some races and not among others, while some have advanced a certain distance and then stopped, is to be found, as Major A. G. Leonard, following Dr. Haddon, and others have pointed out, above all, in the nature of their environment, so that it may be taken as a broad but on the whole true generalization that the races inhabiting the temperate zone have been progressive, and form the civilized peoples of history, while those whose lot was cast in the torrid or arctic zones were unprogressive and stationary. This holds good even when one takes the natives of Australia, the most primitive of all existing races, into account, because there we have not only a most unpromising though in some parts a comparatively temperate environment, but the fact that these people have been isolated for untold ages from the rest of mankind.

In seeking out traces of primitive religious beliefs and social

arrangements among the ancestors of the Hebrews which survived in the folk-lore of their descendants, as they do in our own, and have been transmitted to us in their sacred literature, we are not denying the inspiration of that literature nor the fact that, in the Providence of God, it was the vehicle of that special revelation of Himself to Israel and through Israel to mankind which found its culminating point in the mission of the Christ, but we do throw fresh light on the methods of the Divine working, in showing that in this case, as in every other, God has to take men, so to say, as He finds them, and that His eternal purposes are only carried out through the slow but sure processes of evolution.

As far as can be judged the earliest religious ideas of which we can find traces in the past, and of which we have evidences in the present, are comprised in what is known, following Sir E. B. Tylor, as Animism; along with which went, and goes, Totemism as the basis of social arrangements.

Of man as he was when he first emerged from the brute stage we are too ignorant to be able to say anything positive, except that we know that he brought with him instincts which must be called religious, and that he was gregarious, living probably in what may be called herds rather than hordes, though the horde was a very early development. The Eolithic Age passed away and the Palaeolithic was a long one: through the efforts of British and Continental scholars it is now possible to arrange the classification of that age in an ordered form. Beginning with the river-drift deposits we have in succession the Chellean and Acheulean periods, after which follow the remains of the Cave Men, of which the Mousterian were the earliest. These were followed by the Aurignacian, Solutrean, Magdalenian, and Azilian periods, which bring us to the confines of the Neolithic Age. Mousterian man, whose representative has been found in portions of skulls at Neanderthal and Heidelberg, belonged to a species of man which has died out. It is when we come to the Aurignacian period that we find in the burials of the Cro-Magnon and Grimaldi races the first traces of a religious outlook. Burying his dead in extended fashion, painting him with red ochre and surrounding him with shells and the implements of his daily life, the man of that age seems to point to the idea

of an existence beyond the grave. In the drawings with which he covered the walls of his cave shelters he proved himself a great artist, and these drawings were doubtless executed for a purpose both magical and religious, as M. Salomon Reinach says: 'The study of the birth of religion is interwoven with that of the origin of art. Born simultaneously, art and religion were closely connected for long ages; their affinity is still evident enough to the thinking mind.'[1]

During the Neolithic Age, and at the Neolithic stage of culture in all parts of the world down to the present day, we find Animism and Totemism ruling the religious and social life of man: the natives of Australia are in what we may call the most primitive stage, though with varying degrees of complexity; in West Africa we find Animism already passed into fetishism and polytheism, while Totemism has been left behind; in North America we find Animism, with Totemism still flourishing, though it is there individual and not tribal as in Australia; and it is from the survivals in folk-lore among the civilized races that we judge that they all, more or less, passed through this stage at the beginning of their long career.

Briefly stated, Naturism and Animism represent the earliest outlook of mankind upon the world of which we can find traces, and Totemism represents the earliest social arrangement by means of which, through the practice of exogamy, in-breeding and marriage between close relations was avoided, through being made *tabu*.

Under the ideas hitherto embraced by Animism, it is now agreed, two stages may be recognized: (1) the earliest, when man looks out upon Nature[2] and, knowing himself to be *alive*, concludes that all things that exist are alive too and endowed with a personality similar to his own (this is the stage now called pre-animism or naturism); (2) arising out of this, and being in reality the philosophical explanation of it—for primitive man was an unconscious philosopher—that which Sir E. B. Tylor intended by what he called Animism, viz. the

[1] Reinach, *Art throughout the Ages*, p. 6.

[2] 'Nature' here is used in the ordinarily accepted sense, as standing outside and apart from 'man'; of course we recognize, with Sir E. Ray Lankester and all modern biologists, that, strictly speaking, man is himself a part of nature and involved in and circumscribed by the cosmic process.

doctrine of souls. Through the agency of dreams and other phenomena primitive man goes on to conclude that he is alive because of the soul, or souls, which he possesses, or which rather possess him, and therefore that all things that exist are also alive because of the souls that possess them. It is when the soul becomes differentiated from the object—when, for example, we no longer speak of the 'living tree' or the 'living stone', but of the tree-spirit or the stone-spirit, that a further advance is made in the evolution of religion, and polytheism and fetishism begin. By this time also Totemism is no longer the basis of social life; it survives only in names and tribal traditions.

It is only with the first stage, sometimes called, as has been said, pre-animistic, or the stage of naturism that we deal in this chapter, as an illustration of the light which Anthropology throws upon the Old Testament.

One of the most widespread ideas among primitive races, and one that survives through all subsequent stages of culture in a more or less vital form, is that which is expressed, for want of a term in English which shall embrace its full connotation, by the Maori or Melanesian word *mana*, or the Iroquois *orenda*, with which are connected the ideas belonging to another native word, now universally employed—namely *tabu*.

'*Mana*', says Dr. R. H. Codrington, the great authority on Polynesian customs, 'is a force altogether distinct from physical power, which acts in all kinds of ways for good and evil, and which it is of the greatest advantage to possess or control'; or again: 'it is a power or influence, not physical, but in a way supernatural, though it shows itself in physical force or in any kind of power a man or thing possesses.'[1] Thus if a man has been successful in fighting, it has not been his natural strength of arm, quickness of eye, or readiness in resource, that has won success; it is because by some means he has imbibed the *mana* of the spirit of some deceased warrior to empower him, conveyed in an amulet of stone round his neck or a tuft of leaves in his belt; if a man's pigs multiply, it is not because he is industrious, but because of the stones full of *mana* for pigs and yams that he has.

[1] Codrington, quoted by Dr. Marett, 'Conception of *Mana*', Transactions of the Oxford Congress of Religions, vol. i, p. 48.

'*Tabu*', as Dr. R. R. Marett says, 'is the negative mode of the supernatural to which *mana* corresponds as the positive mode.'[1] In order to make the idea as clear as possible I will briefly summarize what Mr. Edward Clodd, Dr. Marett, and the late Mr. E. S. Hartland have said on the subject, and we will then apply it to our Old Testament study:—

The root idea in pre-animism is that of power everywhere, power vaguely apprehended, but immanent, and as yet unclothed with personal or supernatural attributes. The idea that lies at the base of the religion of the jungle-dwellers in Chota Nagpur is that of power, or rather, of many powers. Identity with this, or near correspondence in thought, underlies the Melanesian and Maori belief in a power or influence called *mana*, to which no personal qualities are attributed, and which can be conveyed in almost everything. With this may be compared the *orenda* of the Iroquois.[2]

Tabu simply implies that you must be heedful in regard to the supernatural, not that you must be on your guard against it. 'Not to be lightly approached' is Codrington's translation for the corresponding term used in the New Hebrides. A study of the subject shows that there exists, deep-engrained in the rudimentary thought of the world, a conception of a specific aspect, common to all sorts of things and living beings, under which they appear at once as needing insulation, and as endowed with an energy of high, since extraordinary, potential. *Mana* is co-extensive with the supernatural, and the *Mana-tabu* formula forms what Dr. Tylor calls 'a minimum definition of religion' better than does animism. Thus the ambiguity that lies sleeping in *mana* would seem to persist to some extent even when religious experience is at its most self-conscious. In the meantime all religions, low and high, rudimentary and advanced, can join in saying with the Psalmist that 'power belongeth unto God'.[3]

[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 51.

[2] Clodd, 'Pre-animistic Stages in Religion', *Transactions of the Congress of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, vol. i, p. 34. There are other terms in other primitive languages which express the same idea, but the words *mana* and *orenda* are the best known.

[3] Marett, 'The Conception of *Mana*', *Transactions of the Congress of Religions*, Oxford, 1908, vol. i, pp. 52, 53, 56, 57.

Let it suffice to say that early man, surrounded by the unknown, would be oppressed by awe and wonder and the feeling of power which lay behind external phenomena. Interpreting those phenomena in the terms of his own consciousness he would regard them as manifestations of personality. It would be inevitable that he should endeavour to conciliate or to control these personalities. Fortunately he possessed in his own potentiality the means of accomplishing to a very large extent this object. Such inherent potentiality is called by the Iroquoian tribes of North America *orenda*, and by other terms in other tribes, with the same significance. In one form or other it is probably known throughout the lower culture. *Orenda* is perhaps best expressed by the English word potentiality, but it carries with it the notions of will, magic, luck, sacredness, mystery.[1]

Putting all this together, and applying it to the Old Testament, we can see at once the survival of a *mana-tabu* or *orenda* stage of culture in many passages which have been waiting for the light of Anthropology to be cast upon them. Here, for example, we have the explanation of the ' sacredness ' of Mount Sinai when Yahweh [2] descended, and Moses went up to receive the tables of the Law. ' The mountain might not be touched.' [3] It was imbued with *mana*, through the manifest presence of Yahweh, and was therefore *tabu*.

So, too, when the ark of Yahweh, which enshrined and ensured his presence with his people, was captured by the Philistines, it caused a grievous plague among them, and when it was placed in the temple of Dagon the idol fell down before it. Its *mana* was more potent than that of Dagon. So, again, when on its return the men of Bethshemesh looked into the ark of Yahweh, ' the people lamented because Yahweh smote many of the people with a great slaughter '; [4] and when David

[1] Hartland, Congress of Religions, Oxford, 1908, vol. i, p. 28. Compare *Report of the British Association*, York, 1906, Presidential Address to Section H, pp. 675–88.

[2] I have consistently used the word Yahweh to express the sacred name in place of the more usual Jehovah, because the latter is a barbarous corruption due to the fact that the Jews read ' Adonai ' from a feeling of reverence (i.e. *tabu*) wherever it occurs, and place the vowels accordingly. In the Authorized Version it is uniformly translated ' the LORD '; in the French version ' l'Éternel '.

[3] Exod. xix. 12, 13 (cf. Heb. xii. 18, 20). [4] 1 Sam. v. 3, 4; vi. 19.

brought up the ark from Kirjath-Jearim, 'Uzzah put forth his hand and took hold of it, because the oxen shook it, and the anger of Yahweh was kindled against Uzzah and God smote him there for his error, and he died there by the ark of God.' [1] The ark was imbued with *mana* and was therefore *tabu*.

In the same way the temple and all that was in it, as, in the priestly legislation, the tabernacle and all that it contained, were holy to Yahweh; the priests and the Levites were holy, and indeed the whole people of Israel were a holy nation.

The conceptions derived from the earliest ideas of primitive man survived to the latest stage of the nation's history and passed over to Christianity, where, among the nations converted to the faith, they met similar survivals; and they survive to this day in the notions as to holy places, persons, and things which are found among ourselves.

A word must be said here about the ideas connected with the word חרם (KhRM) which, in the sense of devoted, sacred, or accursed, occurs so often in the Old Testament. It is derived from the same circle of ideas as those which belong to the *mana-tabu* formula. The people and goods of Jericho were *kherem*, that is, banned, sacred to Yahweh; the people must therefore all be destroyed except Rahab and her family who had shown goodwill to the spies, and the goods were accursed if used by any Israelite; when, therefore, Achan was found to be in possession of a portion of the treasure he was doomed to death by stoning. So, too, the Amalekites in later days were *kherem*, devoted to Yahweh, and Saul was punished by being rejected as king for allowing the people to run upon the spoil.

The moral aspect of these and similar transactions does not come before us. It lies outside the scope of primitive thought, which is rather non-moral than either moral or immoral; and although the Israelites, and more particularly the writers of the stories, who were of much later date, had by then got far beyond the primitive stage, yet so strong is superstition that the ideas connected with it still maintain a vitality of their own though the idea itself belongs to the far distant past. A person or thing is *kherem*—possessed of *mana*, says primitive man; holy, consecrated to God, says his descendant in a later stage

[1] 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7.

of culture. It is enough, that person or thing is *kherem* ; and therefore *tabu*, not to be touched, accursed; avoid it as you would the plague.

Let us next consider how it is that the Hebrew name for ' God ' in general, as used by E and P and the later writers universally, is Elohim, and why it is always used with a verb in the singular? The theological explanation is that it is a name of majesty, and the Church sees in it an adumbration of the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Be this as it may from the theological standpoint, the anthropological explanation is much simpler, and the truth of it *saute aux yeux* as soon as it is stated. In the word Elohim we are taken right back into the heart of pre-animism. The *Encyclopaedia Biblica* indeed, curiously enough, forsaking its usual role of pioneer, reverts to the most conservative view of the word Elohim: ' the usage of the language ', it says, ' gives no support to the supposition that we have in the plural form Elohim, as applied to the God of Israel, the remains of an early polytheism, or at least a combination with the higher spiritual beings (the " son of God " or " sons of the Gods " i.e., according to Hebrew usage, simply beings belonging to the class of Elohim). Rather must we hold to the explanation of the plural as one of majesty and rank.' Now, seeing that the use of a noun in the plural with a verb in the singular is confined to this solitary instance, it cannot be said that ' the usage of the language ' supplies any criteria to go upon, beyond those which are supplied by the instance itself. Professor Robertson Smith is much nearer the mark when he says: ' If the oldest sanctuaries of the gods were originally haunts of a multiplicity of *jinn* . . . we should expect to find even in later times some trace of the idea that the holy place is not inhabited by a single god, but by a plurality of sacred denizens.' Compare the localities, marked by sacred tree or stone and by the deposition of *churinga*, where, as the Arunta tell us, swarms of Alcheringa spirits lie in wait, eagerly looking out for the opportunity of new birth.[1] ' I am inclined to think ', Professor Robertson Smith continues, 'that this is the idea which underlies the Hebrew use of the plural Elohim, and

[1] See Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*. The beliefs and customs of the Arunta and other Australian tribes are fully described below, chap. VII.

the Phoenician use of Elim, in a singular sense. Merely to refer this to primitive polytheism, as is sometimes done, does not explain how the plural form is habitually used to designate a single deity. But if the Elohim of a place originally meant all its sacred denizens, viewed collectively as an indeterminate sum of indistinguishable beings, the transition to the use of the plural in a singular sense would follow naturally. . . . Further, the original indeterminate plurality of the Elohim appears in the conception of angels as "Bnê Elohim", beings [as the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* admits] " of the Elohim kind ".' He goes on to compare with this the frequenting by angels of holy places such as Bethel and Mahanaim,[1] even when they have no message to deliver; and the facts that angels as sons of God form part of the Semitic mythology, as in Gen. vi. 4, and that Jacob, though wrestling with a nameless angel, that is, a being with no distinctive individuality, is yet wrestling with Elohim.[2]

This is all on the right lines, as any anthropologist will at once see; but I would go farther back even than Robertson Smith does and see in the Elohim a survival from a time when the class of deities or *jinns* was not yet differentiated from the living powers by which man is on all sides surrounded, that is, it is a purely pre-animistic conception. The Elohim are the *strong ones*, the great powers and forces of nature, by which man is encompassed, and by virtue of which he and all things live. In a word, the name Elohim, which in later times signified the one Eternal God of the whole universe, and is so used in P and indeed wherever it occurs in the Old Testament,[3] carries us back to those primitive and far-away times when the ancestors of Israel were in the pre-animistic stage of religion. Thus the continued use of the word Elohim for God points back to the primitive conception of nature which lies at the base of all later ideas.

We see, therefore, that as Israel steadily left animism behind and polytheism on one side, and advanced through henotheism and monolatry to monotheism—as she purified the conception

[1] Gen. xxviii and xxxii.

[2] W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1894 edition, p. 445.

[3] In saying this I am not unmindful of such passages as Exod. xxi. 6, and Ps. lxxxii. 6, where it clearly means Judges, but even here the Judges belong to a sacred locality and represent Him who sums up in Himself all judgement, i.e. God.

of Yahweh until he became her national god, and then went forward under the guidance of the Prophets to conceive of Yahweh as the one absolute and eternal divine being, Yahweh Himself became first '*Yahweh Elohim*' (lit. Yahweh of the Elohim, A.V. The LORD God); then '*Yahweh elohē Jishrael*' (Yahweh God of Israel); and finally *Yahweh elohē col ha'arets* (Yahweh God of the whole earth). The Elohim were summed up, concentrated, and finally lost in the majesty of Yahweh, whose transcendence and immanence can never be better expressed than in the translation in the French, *L'Éternel*, which Matthew Arnold adopted in English, writing always 'The Eternal'.[1]

[1] Henotheism and Monolatry are terms well understood and employed by anthropologists, but it may be as well to explain them.

Henotheism is thus defined by the Oxford English Dictionary: 'The belief in one god as the deity of the individual, family, or tribe, without asserting that he is the only God; it is a stage of religious belief between polytheism and monotheism.' (See Judges xi. 23, 24.)

Monolatry is defined as: 'The worship of one God, where other gods may be supposed to exist' (i.e. monolatry is the worship of one God by one particular tribe or nation; thus at this stage Chemosh was the God of Moab in as real a sense as Yahweh was the God of Israel); monotheism is the belief in one only God.

CHAPTER II

ANIMISM IN THE FOLK-STORIES OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

IN the previous chapter we dealt in a general way with the subject of Anthropology and the Old Testament, and endeavoured to show how valuable a contribution to the intelligent understanding of the ancient literature of Israel is afforded by bringing the resources of this science to bear upon its study. We can now further develop the interesting field of investigation which is opened to us by endeavouring to discover the traces of Animism which may be found embedded in the folk-stories of the Old Testament.

Folk-stories, I need not say, are the tales handed down from generation to generation among the people until they are at last put into writing when the literary instinct begins to have play; and these folk-stories enshrine ideas and customs which have probably long ceased to have a living meaning or to carry their original significance in the thoughts of the people; these are what is meant in the language of modern Anthropology by survivals; and when 'survival' consists of nothing but memories of beliefs alive in the past but now dead it becomes superstition. There are plenty of folk-stories and survivals to be found among ourselves, as is well known to every student of popular superstitions; it is therefore interesting to note the place they held in the social organization of ancient Israel, and to do this we must look at the Old Testament in its critical aspect, realizing that, although it enshrines the highest revelation of God to man before the coming of Jesus Christ, it is not an authority on literal or exact science or history. Even in these days of literary activity the East is still the home of folk-stories and the story-teller is still an honoured member of the community; how much more so in the times to which the Old Testament belongs!

In one sense the stories of the Patriarchs—Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob—are folk-tales: that is, when they are tested by the canons to which all documents dealing with the past must be subject

it is at once seen that what they give us is not actual history but popular tales of the supposed lives of the ancestors of the Hebrew race filtered through the imagination of generations of story-tellers; Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob no doubt represent real living men, but the legends of which they formed the central figures have become mixed up with the tribal origins of the people of Israel.

Let us begin, however, with the first story to be found in the Book of Genesis—that of the Garden of Eden. The account is contained in the earliest story of creation, as it was handed down among the southern Israelites, belonging to the kingdom of Judah, and committed to writing by the prophetic writer known as J, about the ninth century B.C. In this story Yahweh Elohim first creates man and places him in a beautiful garden watered by four streams—the names of two of which, the Hiddekel or Tigris and the Euphrates, tell us plainly that the story is derived from Babylonia—and containing a tree possessing mystic powers and known as the Tree of Life. The animals are next created and brought to the man to see what he will call them, and as no fit companion is found for him among them he is thrown into a deep sleep, and on awaking finds the woman, fashioned from one of his own ribs, standing beside him. But the fair picture is soon marred, for the woman, yielding to the subtle temptation of a serpent who is mysteriously endowed with the power of speech, puts forth her hand and plucks and eats the fruit of another mystic tree which they had been forbidden to touch, and her husband eating with her they acquire the 'knowledge of good and evil,' lose their primal innocence, and are expelled from the Garden. This is a rapid résumé of the story, but there are several points which immediately compel the attention of the student of early religion. The story, as we have stated, was not written down till somewhere in the ninth century B.C., and shows signs of editing, but the ideas it enshrines are among the earliest of the human race and are ' survivals ' in a later stage of culture.

' Animism', says Mr. Clodd, ' is the seed of religion.' We are not surprised, therefore, to find in the opening chapters of J the story of the speaking serpent and the living tree,[1] any more

[1] Gen. ii, iii.

than we are surprised, later on, to find him telling the story of the speaking ass.[1] These stories, although written down at a late date, belong to the oldest strata of the Hexateuch, and have a flavour of the highest antiquity; they carry us back to a time when, to the ancestors of Israel, there was nothing miraculous in them whatever, but it was as natural for an ass or a serpent to be endowed with the gift of speech as for man himself to be so endowed.

In the days when the stories were written down no doubt they were considered to be evidence of superhuman power: it was Yahweh Elohim who allowed the serpent to speak, or rather the serpent himself has become a sort of divine being or demi-god, whose power is proof of a malignant hatred of man; and it is Yahweh who opens the mouth of the ass, but in the earliest times it was not so. Then nothing was marvellous, but all things were possible in a world in which all things were equally alive, all equally possessed of souls.

So Homer tells us of the speaking horse, although for him, too, the stage of animism has been left far behind, and it is merely a survival. ' Him then the swift-footed horse under the yoke addressed. . . . The white-armed goddess Hera made him (the horse) speak ' (*Iliad*, xix. 404, 407).

So Livy tells us of the prodigy of the speaking ox, and Pliny finds such stories ' frequently in the marvellous tales of the ancients '; but to the ' ancients ' themselves it was no prodigy.[2] So our children, who are still, if we may put it so, not in the very earliest but in the neolithic stage of culture, treat their dolls, and indeed all things they have to do with—chairs, tables, flowers, stones, and such like—as alive, and are never surprised when, in the fables of Aesop or Phaedrus or La Fontaine, they find animals and birds and even stones and trees conversing as they do themselves; it is all a matter of course, as it is in the Australian tales which have been collected by Mrs. Langloh Parker, and which are most interesting as revelations of primitive thought among the lower savages to-day.

To illustrate the fact that in these stories—that is, of the

[1] Num. xxii.

[2] Cf. Rasàlu's speaking mare Foladi in the late Rev. C. Swynnerton's Punjab stories, *Indian Nights' Entertainment*.

speaking serpent and ass—we are carried very far back in the ideas of primitive man, we may note that in West Africa, among the tribes of the lower Niger, although animals are regarded as having souls as well as man, which go away and return in a similar manner, yet they are quite different from them. 'Animals are in fact a lower creation altogether, lacking as they do the power of speech.' This is evidently a later stage in the evolution of Animism arising from observation, and yet, to these natives, 'all life, animal and vegetable, has within it the spiritual or living essence, varying in form and character—all, like the human, continuing their spiritual existence in the next world.' [1] How near the ideas of these savages approach scientific thought may be seen by consulting two articles on the 'immortality of the soul' by Sir Oliver Lodge in the *Hibbert Journal*, vol. vii, 1908, and subsequent writings by him.

As regards Balaam's ass we note also that not only was it gifted with speech but it beheld the angel whom Balaam could not see. This is entirely on the lines of primitive thought, as Sir E. B. Tylor tells us: 'Animals stare and startle when we see no cause; is it that they see spirits invisible to man?' [2]

The occurrence of the living tree, or 'Tree of Life' as it is more familiarly called in the story of Eden, takes us right back to the heart of primitive animistic thought. Because all things are alive, it is a natural conclusion that in partaking of anything

[1] A. G. Leonard, *The Lower Niger and its Tribes*, pp. 147, 188.

[2] *Primitive Culture*, vol. ii, p. 196. A remarkable illustration of this faculty is recorded by one who was present in the funeral procession of Earl Haig in London on 3 February 1928. It is as follows:

A Funeral Incident

'A correspondent writes:

Lord Haig's charger, which he rode in France and in the Victory March in 1919, was taken over by the King in 1920 and named "Haig". This horse followed the coffin in the funeral procession on Friday, and behaved splendidly until just at the moment when the coffin was being taken off the gun carriage to be placed in the railway van at Waterloo station. Then he suddenly got restless, and the three men with him had to hold tight on to his bridle; and as the coffin was being lifted he gave a loud neigh. I know the horse well, and I have never known him neigh like that before, or become restless.' *The Times*, 6 February 1928.

Did this horse see and recognize his dead master present in spirit as the coffin containing his body was being transferred from the gun-carriage to the railway van? It is an interesting question.

you partake of its life, its very soul, and that the properties of that life become a part of yourself. Thus in the enchanted garden where Yahweh Elohim, already differentiated and personified—a proof of the late emergence of the story as we have it—walks and talks with man, it is no wonder that there is a sacred tree whose fruit gives immortality, even as in the *Zend Avesta* we read of a tree named Hôm or Haoma, which imparts immortality, and is called the King of Trees. This Hôm was a white tree said to grow in the midst of the mythic sea Vauru-Kasha. Everywhere among primitive peoples to-day we find the same stories. In Babylonian and Persian and Hebrew legend, either in a Paradise of the past, or, as adapted by the Christian seer of the Apocalypse and by Mohammed after him, in a Paradise of the future, grows the sacred tree with its life-giving fruit and its healing leaves, and beside it is found the sacred stream, well, or fountain.[1] Here we may ask in passing, is not the very same idea, derived from primitive thought, embodied in the two great sacraments of the Christian Church, where the water of Baptism is itself the sacred cleansing fountain, and the Bread and Wine are the vehicles for the reception by the faithful of the true Tree of Life, even of the Christ Himself, and are therefore, as St. Chrysostom said, 'the food of immortality'?

We are further told in the story of Eden that Yahweh Elohim walked in the garden in the cool of the day, and conversed with the guilty pair. It was the sighing of the wind in the leaves of the tree (probably the Tree of Life) that seemed to them, according to the transcriber, as the voice of Yahweh Elohim, but originally it would be the tree-spirit who was offended and whose accusing voice spoke to them in the evening breeze.

Returning now to the stories of the Patriarchs we notice at once that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are all intimately associated with the sacred objects of the ancient animistic religion. They are all worshippers of Yahweh—at least so J tells us, although E says the name Yahweh was not known until the Exodus, while P (the priestly writer) uses the name El Shaddai, God Almighty, to designate the God of Abraham—but they worship him at the old sites and in the old way.

[1] See Chapter XVII.

Abraham erects his altars beneath the sacred trees—chiefly the oak, e.g. the oak or terebinth of Mamre and others[1]—which had been consecrated by long use in Canaan; Isaac is more particularly associated with sacred wells; Jacob with sacred stones, all belonging to the old animistic religion. When Jacob falls asleep at Bethel he uses for his pillow a prostrate stone, probably a fallen menhir, which, like those at Arbor Low, in Derbyshire, may have marked an ancient burying-place; and on awaking in the morning he ascribes the wondrous dream which had come to him, with its reminiscences of the *ziggurat*, or temple towers, of Babylonia, to the influence of the god who dwelt in the stone; hence, says the narrator, he called the name of the place Bethel (House of God), for formerly its name was Luz. Lifting the stone from its fallen position he set it up again, and making it as it were both altar and shrine he anointed it with oil, entering thus into communion with the god. Originally the stone itself would be the bethel, the house or abode of a god, the *βαίτυλος*, like the so-called baetylic altars with which Sir Arthur Evans has made us familiar in Crete and Mycenae and elsewhere. It is by no means strange that the folk-tales of Israel should have preserved such traces of the ancient faith, when we remember that according to the *Logion* discovered at Oxyrhynchus the Christ is reported to have said, 'Raise the stone and thou shalt find me; cleave the wood and there am I'; that down to our own day the women of Brittany, when desirous of offspring, worship before the great Menhir, in some cases christianized by a cross on its apex; and that the women of Cornwall and Argyllshire in similar case believe in the good effect of passing through a holed stone.[2]

In connexion with the ideas attached to sacred stones, we note the two Tables of Stone[3] said to be inscribed with the commandments of Yahweh, which were laid up in the Ark of the Covenant, and thus ensured his presence with his people, so that when the Ark was taken by the Philistines Yahweh himself was as it were captured, and proved his presence and his power by causing Dagon to fall prostrate before him (1 Sam. v. 5);

[1] See, e.g., Gen. xviii.

[2] Cf. the Welsh song, 'Over the Stone', still extant.

[3] Compare the Kaaba or sacred stone at Mecca, and the stone which fell down from Jupiter in the temple of Diana at Ephesus (Acts xix. 35).

when Israel crossed the Jordan Joshua set up twelve sacred stones as a lasting memorial, one for each tribe; and when Israel overcame the Philistines at Mizpeh, Samuel is said to have taken a stone and called it Eben-ezer, the stone of help (1 Sam. vii. 12). The *Encyclopaedia Biblica* tells us that this story is 'of no historical value'. It may be so, but it is of the utmost psychological value, like so many similar stories, and it denotes the survival of old religious conceptions to a late date. Perhaps, however, it may have been, as Robertson Smith suggested, 'a rude stone idol', like the 'aniconic'—that is, unfashioned to any shape, human or animal—idols in ancient Crete, or the rude images described by Cartailhac in France and Spain, for we know that idolatry prevailed in Israel down to the captivity; but Samuel gave the stone an innocent interpretation. Compare also the stone set up by Joshua at the great meeting in Shechem at the close of his career, when he said, 'This stone shall be a witness unto us; for it hath heard all the words of Yahweh' (Joshua xxiv. 27).

Belonging to the same order of ideas is the *matzebah*, or sacred stone, which, with the *ashera*, or sacred pole, representing the original sacred tree, is found beside every hill altar or sacred shrine in old Israel—legacies from their predecessors in possession of the land; these together were the sign and pledge of the presence of the Divinity.[1] With these we may compare the two pillars, Jachin, 'He will establish', and Boaz, 'In it is strength', which Solomon erected in the porch of his temple at Jerusalem, exactly corresponding with the pillars in front of Phoenician temples, and with the 'Pillars of the House' in the Mycenaean cult in Crete and elsewhere. These served not only a structural but an important religious purpose, as being themselves the shrine and symbol of deity and ensuring the divine presence, support, and blessing to the house (1 Kings vii. 21).

In the story of Hagar, when she and Ishmael her son were cast out by Abraham, we are told that she departed and

[1] Abraham is even said to have planted a grove, that is set up an *ashera*, in Beersheba, the sacred spring where he made a covenant with Abimelech, King of Gerar (Gen. xxi. 33; cf. Deut. xvi. 21, where such an action is prohibited by the Deuteronomic legislator in the seventh century B.C.).

wandered in the wilderness of Beersheba; and the water was spent in the bottle, and she cast the child under one of the shrubs. We are not told what the shrub was, but from the theophany which followed it may be concluded that it was a well-known and recognized sacred tree, probably near some shrine, and the sacred well adjoined, though the fact came as a surprise to Hagar. On a previous occasion when Hagar ran away from her harsh mistress, it will be remembered that she was found by the angel of the Lord alongside a fountain of water in the wilderness and received promises of blessing in the future, whereupon she recognized that it was Yahweh himself who was addressing her, and exclaimed in awed astonishment: 'Thou God seest me', and named the well, as sacred, Beer-lahai-roi, 'the well of the Living one who sees me'. In both these cases the shrine with its divinity is evidence of the late development of the story, for the tree-spirit has now become as it were a *numen*, and as in Africa to-day animism is passing into fetishism: for the narrator E the further development has taken place that it was Elohim, as for J it was Yahweh, who spoke and made his presence known (Gen. xvi. 7–14; xxi. 12–21).

We have said that for Isaac the predominant feature is the sacred well; reference to such a well is made in Numbers xxi. 16–18, where the nobles of Israel are said to dig a well, from which Moses gives the people water at the behest of Yahweh, and they sing a song to it as itself a sacred fountain and quasi-divine—'Spring up, O Well; sing ye unto it!'—in the very spirit of animism. The same idea survived even to the time of the Psalmist, who wrote of Yahweh (Ps. xxxvi. 9): 'With Thee is the fountain of life'; and as regards the Mazzebah a late passage in the Book of Isaiah tells how 'In that day shall there be an altar to Yahweh in the midst of the land of Egypt, and a pillar (*mazzebah*) at the border thereof to Yahweh' (Isa. xix. 19)—a most appropriate symbol when we think of the obelisks in Egyptian temples, of which, as we know, one, the so-called Cleopatra's Needle, stands to-day on the bank of the Thames.

The Burning Bush, where Moses had his vision of Yahweh and received his call, must have been a well-known sacred tree to which the future lawgiver must have often resorted in his exile. Hither, one evening, he comes and sees it illuminated with

the rays of the setting sun and to all appearance blazing with fire. Stirred by the sight, he recognizes the presence of Yahweh and receives the call to his life work. A real theophany is represented—to Moses the inner voice is that of the angel of Yahweh, afterwards said to be Yahweh himself, as in the story of Hagar—but the manifestation is not in human form, as usually represented at this age and often in the days of the Patriarchs. The only appearance is of fire, with which the Bush glows but is not consumed. In Exodus (iii. 2) there seems to be a fusion of two widely current beliefs: that fire indicated the divine presence, and that certain trees were the permanent abodes of deities. From Deuteronomy (xxxiii. 16) it would appear that there was current a form of the story which made the bush the permanent dwelling of Yahweh ('who dwelt in the bush'), suggesting the same permanency of the Divine presence as was afterwards supposed to mark the temple, by means of the Shechinah, or cloud over the ark, in the Holy of Holies.

In Exodus the fiery appearance is clearly regarded, like other theophanies, as temporary; and naturally so, for with the sunset the fiery appearance passed away.

Coming to the times of David, we note a remarkable direction which Yahweh is said to have given when the Philistines spread themselves in the valley of Rephaim, and David, being at a loss what to do, consulted the oracle. This is recorded in 2 Sam. v. 22 ff., and the chronicler repeats the story in almost identical words (1 Chron. xiv. 14 ff.). The King is told to withdraw, and to come upon the Philistines over against the mulberry trees; and it is added: 'it shall be, when thou shalt hear the sound of a going (or marching) in the tops of the mulberry trees, then thou shalt go out to battle, for God is gone forth before thee'. Here again, these mulberry trees so definitely named must have been well-known sacred trees associated with the old religion, and at this time there was probably a shrine adjoining adapted to the cult of Israel's God. In the form of the sign we have the rustling of the tree-tops in the breeze utilized to represent the marching out of God against the enemies of His people.

The question arises: How is it, on the principles of animism, that we find everywhere certain special trees, wells, and stones accounted sacred, both among the primitive races of to-day and

in the folklore of the civilized peoples, seeing that all things were at the first thought of as sharing a common life and all alike possessing an animating soul or souls? It is true that in Deut. xii. 2–3, the Deuteronomic lawgiver (about 620 B.C.) in forbidding the people of Yahweh to follow the practices of the Canaanites, which they had done continuously up to the time of the great reformation under Josiah, speaks of worship on the top of every high hill and under every green tree, but this probably only refers to the fact that there was a place of worship in every town and village, just as in England every village has its church, often on the site dedicated to heathen worship; but contrary to the Christian practice which allows God to be worshipped thus diffusely the Reformer was anxious to concentrate the worship of Yahweh at one special shrine in order to emphasize the unity of the God of Israel. But from the beginning it is also true that there were special trees, or wells, or stones, as for example the oak and the terebinth, or the thorn bush of Moses and the mulberry trees of David, and the well of the oath and the stone of help which seem to have been held specially sacred, and became in this way localities where worship was paid to the Deity. This was due to the growing sense of the distinction between an object and its soul or souls, and the consequent multiplication of spiritual beings which might attach themselves to any object they chose or pass indifferently from one object to another.

These spirits were all recognized as more active in some localities than in others, and these would be known to the wise men, magicians or priests, and thus certain spots would come to be marked off as having a special sanctity through the activity of the spirits there. Thus magic and religion would soon be turned to a source of gain.

Among the Arunta, one of the tribes of central Australia, we find a belief in what they call ' the Alcheringa times ', that is times farther back than memory can go, when their ancestors lived; each individual in the present is a reincarnation of an Alcheringa ancestor; and there are certain localities haunted by the spirits of the departed where they are particularly active in their desire for rebirth; these are marked by sacred tree or well or stone, which are well known to the natives, and avoided by

unmarried girls, or women who are not desirous of offspring. In the same way every West African village has its sacred Juju tree, and its fetish stone by the shrine of the idol. Thus when Israel arrived in Canaan they found themselves in a land abounding in sacred localities belonging to the different local divinities or Baalim, the beliefs attached to which were syncretized with their own, and adapted to the cult of their own God, Yahweh. So it came to pass that when the stories of the past were at last written down, the sacred trees and wells and stones of the old religion had their place in them.

But as soon as prophetism emerged with its message: 'Yahweh is the only God,' it was discovered that to associate such objects with the presence and worship of Yahweh was not to make of them innocent survivals but dangerous superstitions and incentives to heathenism, and so from Hosea onwards the prophets inveigh against them with all their force.

Thus Hosea says: They sacrifice upon the tops of the mountains, and burn incense upon the hills, under oaks and poplars and terebinths, because the shadow thereof is good: therefore your daughters commit whoredom, and your brides commit adultery (Hos. iv. 13). The prophet here refers to the custom of religious prostitution, which was carried on under the shadow of the sacred trees, as it was in the temples in Babylonia and Phoenicia and elsewhere. Ezekiel says: And ye shall know that I am Yahweh, when their slain men shall be among their idols round about their altars, upon every high hill, in all the tops of the mountains, and under every green tree, and under every thick oak, the place where they did offer sweet savour to all their idols (Ezek. vi. 13). Again, Isaiah, speaking of the sinners who forsake Yahweh, says: For they shall be ashamed of the oaks which ye have desired, and ye shall be confounded for the gardens which ye have chosen (Isa. i. 29). In the same strain a later prophet, whose work is combined with that of Isaiah, in denouncing the idolatry of his own day speaks of those who inflame themselves among the oaks, under every green tree: that slay the children in the valleys under the clefts of the rocks (Isa. lvii. 5). The slaughter here referred to is no doubt the custom of sacrificing children to Moloch. Evidence might be piled up, but it is unnecessary; the conclusion is that in the ninth and eighth

centuries B.C., when the folk-stories were written down, it was still possible to give them a harmless meaning; from the seventh century onwards such stories and the practices which they connote are merely evidences of the nation's leaning towards heathenism.

It may help us to realize how potent were the ideas derived from ancient times in Israel if we note how they still survive among the people even in civilized lands to-day. For example, every one has heard of, or seen, the 'Holy Oaks', of which there are many bearing the name in our own country: where the peasantry are Roman Catholics they are still resorted to and rags are hung on their branches to bring the devotee *en rapport*—no longer with the tree spirit or local divinity, but with the saint to whom they are now attached; the same is true of the 'Holy Wells', of which one of the most famous perhaps is at Holywell, in North Wales. When I was a boy I remember seeing an aged Irishman anointing his eyes with the muddy water from a holy well near Tenby,[1] dedicated to a local saint, to cure them of ophthalmia. Exactly the same thing is found in Mohammedan countries. Sir Arthur Evans in his book on *Mycenean Tree and Pillar Worship* gives an account of the devotion paid to a Mohammedan saint at a place called Teke-keôi, in Turkey, where there is a shrine beside a holy tree and well[2]; and when I was at Hammam-R'hira in Algeria some years ago I found close to the hotel, with its crowd of health-seekers, a similar sacred tree and well to which the Arabs were accustomed to resort; the branches of the tree were hung with all manner of rags and strips of garments to procure the favourable patronage of the saintly man there commemorated. This is pure animism, christianized or mohammedanized as the case may be, and the heathen flavour has been removed by the substitution of the Christian or Mohammedan saint for the *genius loci*, just as the Hebrew story-teller substituted Yahweh for the Baalim.

[1] i.e. the three wells of St. Laurence, Gumfreston, in the churchyard of St. Laurence's church, about two miles out of Tenby.

[2] See Chapter XVII, below.

CHAPTER III

ANIMISM IN MAGIC AND RITUAL

IN our last chapter we spoke of magic. In the history of human beliefs it is admitted that magic preceded religion, but religion has never conquered magic, which runs coincidently with it through all the story of man's development and is found even to-day in the most unexpected quarters. Magic arises from man's endeavour to bend the forces of nature to his will, or, when he has learnt to distinguish between blind forces and the spiritual beings behind them, to bend these beings to his will. But he soon finds that magic is often impotent; the spirits too often refuse to be influenced by such means, and so religion is born through the despair of magic.

But magic persists, and so we find it running concurrently and mixed up with religion in all ages.

In Egypt the practices of religion were blended with magic to an almost larger extent than among any other peoples; we are not therefore surprised that in the narratives of JE Moses and Aaron are both masters of the science, and that by their arts and the wonder-working properties of Moses' wand they are able to confound the magicians of Egypt (Exod. iii–xi). The devices by which Jacob was enabled to outwit Laban and increase his own flocks and herds at the expense of the latter is an example of what is called sympathetic magic (Gen. xxx); so is the story of the Brazen Serpent, by gazing on which the stricken Israelites were healed of the bites inflicted by the serpents which Yahweh had sent among them (Num. xxi).

Witchcraft also abounded in Israel notwithstanding the efforts of successive codes to put it down and the denunciations of the true prophets; we need not be surprised at this, for not only does a belief in witchcraft survive among the natives of West Africa and other primitive peoples to-day, but it caused endless misery throughout Europe in the Middle Ages, and in England and above all in Scotland right down to the seventeenth

century, and still persists in outlying districts.[1] In one form or another it is found from the times of the Judges to the Reformation of Josiah, and even after the exile the second Isaiah inveighs against it, while the latest code (P) has to issue as stringent prohibitions as do the first (JE) and the Deuteronomic codes. This shows how strong the belief was in witchcraft, and how even from the first establishment of the nation the lawgivers fought against its debasing tendencies on behalf of the religion of Yahweh. Saul, the first king, was a strenuous witch-hunter, but in his own extremity he himself consults the Witch of Endor, and by her necromantic arts, which may be paralleled among all primitive races, she makes him believe that he beholds Samuel as a *revenant*, and hears his solemn judgement (1 Sam. xxviii). It has been suggested that the Witch of Endor may have been a real medium (if such a person exists?), and have really entered into communication with the spirit of Samuel. The phenomena of spiritualism (or spiritism) and the facts said to be ascertained by the Psychical Research Society make this a possible, if hardly probable, explanation of this curious story. David is as it were using magical arts when he charms away Saul's melancholia, which was believed to be due to an evil spirit from Yahweh but which we should call a form of insanity, by the music of his harp, an effect of music which is alluded to more than once by Shakespeare.[2] A wise woman is employed by Joab to bring about the reconciliation between David and Absalom, and it is a wise woman who pronounces for the validity of the Deuteronomic Book of the Law when Josiah hesitates to accept it (2 Sam. xiv; 2 Kings xxii. 14). The drastic provisions of the Codes and the splendid satire of the second Isaiah prove beyond doubt the abiding power of the old animistic belief in the influence of spirits on human affairs and the mysterious efficacy of magic and witchcraft, of divination and enchantment, down to the latest days of Israel's history.

[1] Cf. Hardy's novels—*The Mayor of Casterbridge*, for instance.

[2] Shakespeare's references to the effects of music are too well known to need quotation. Lorenzo's speech (*Merchant of Venice*, Act. v, sc. i.) in answer to Jessica's, ' I am never merry when I hear sweet music ' is a case in point; on the other hand some are too hard to be influenced by music, as was Caesar's opinion of Cassius (*Jul. Caes.*, Act. i, sc. ii), ' He hears no music ', for he has a ' lean and hungry look ', 'thinks too much ', and is therefore ' dangerous '.

In connexion with this we have to notice two interesting points of ritual. The first is the trial by ordeal in the case of a woman suspected of infidelity to her husband. This persisted even in the latest edition of the priestly legislation (Num. v. 11 ff.). The ordeal consisted in the drinking of 'holy water', and the antiquity of the ceremony is evident not only from its whole character, but because the expression is, as Robertson Smith points out, 'unique in the language of Hebrew ritual, and must be taken as an isolated survival of an obsolete expression'. He proceeds: 'Unique though the expression be, it is not difficult to assign its original meaning; . . . the survival of even one case of ordeal by holy water leaves no doubt as to the sense of the "fountain of judgement" (En-Mishpaṭ) or "waters of controversy" (Meribah).'[1] It is divination at the oracle of the sacred fountain that is meant; and is entirely on the lines of primitive thought. Many examples of the same custom are to be seen among the natives of West Africa and elsewhere to-day.

Our second example of ritual is that of the scapegoat (Lev. xvi). Notwithstanding Professor Benzinger's denial of the primitive character of the notion involved in, and the ritual connected with, Azazel (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, s.v.) my own opinion agrees with that of Professor Cheyne in the same work, an opinion which had already been put forward by Robertson Smith.[2] 'The more we study the Priestly Code,' says Professor Cheyne, 'the more we are struck by the combination of firmness and laxity which its compilers display. They are firmness itself as regards the essential principles of the law, but very compliant to minor popular superstitions.' Professor Cheyne's account is so good that I cannot do better than give it here in brief. Azazel to the Jewish theologians (including the authors of the scapegoat-ritual) was a fallen angel, evil no doubt, yet not altogether unfriendly to man, for he was the true Tubal-Cain of Gen. iv, and one of the 'Sons of Elohim' of Gen. vi. He was said to have been bound hand and foot, like Prometheus, and placed in an opening of the desert which is in Dudael; rough and jagged rocks were laid upon him. The crag down which the 'goat for Azazel' was pushed was shown to the curious. So we are told in the Book of Enoch and also in the Mishna (Yoma).

[1] *Religion of the Semites*, ed. 1927, p. 181. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 422.

As my readers will probably know, Sir J. G. Frazer has devoted a whole volume of the third edition of the *Golden Bough* to the subject of the Scapegoat. In this he describes the manner in which evil is transferred to all manner of objects—stones and sticks, animals and birds, even to other men—with a vast accumulation of evidence from all parts of the world among present-day primitive peoples. This belief in the possibility of the transference of evil, sickness, or sin as the case may be, is wrapped up with the belief in demons. It is the demon of sickness and the demon of sin that is thus transferred and in this way got rid of.[1] Surprised though we may be that this belief should find its place and the ritual attached to it in the latest edition of the priestly code, we are not surprised to find it enshrined among the beliefs of the primitive ancestors of the Hebrews. But the author of the scapegoat ritual in the priestly code made a change; for the crowd of *se'irim* (or earth-demons) to whom the people sacrificed he substituted the personal angel Azazel, just as the goat on which the sins of the people were laid was a substitute for the sacrificial victims. The need must have been great indeed. In the marriage songs of the Canticles we twice find (it is probable) the strange appeal, 'I charge you, oh ye daughters of Jerusalem, by the fairy-hosts and by the tree-spirits' (Cant. ii. 7; iii. 5). In such a poem the name of Yahweh could not be lightly used; all the world, however, knew of the supernatural beings who haunted thickets and sometimes inhabited trees, and, like the *jinn* among the Arabs, were sometimes friendly to man, sometimes unfriendly. What the poet says is, 'Do not play with love for fear of the *se'irim* or *jinn*, for they are dangerous to newly-married people.' Sacred trees (especially the locust- or carob-trees) are still reverenced in Palestine, as being possessed.

The discussion of the ritual need not detain us. What concerns us is that in the belief in the *se'irim*, and in the fairies and tree-spirits of the passages in the Canticles, we have survivals of pure animism in the folk-lore of the people.

The *se'irim* are nothing but degraded Elohim, and just as

[1] For a full account of belief and customs in India to-day see W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folk-lore of Northern India*, vol. i, pp. 123 ff.; and cf. E. Thurston, *Omens and Superstitions of Southern India*.

the latter have become condensed, so to say, in the idea of the one monotheistic god, so the former have become Azazel, in whom we may with Benzinger see the Satan of later theology. Thus God and Satan both derive from Animism when traced to their ultimate source.

The *se'irim* are also mentioned in Isa. xiii. 21; xxxiv. 14, where the Authorized Version translates ' satyrs ', and in Lev. xvii. 7, and 2 Chron. xi. 15, where it translates ' devils '—all late passages. They are hairy demons of goat-like appearance, reminding us of the goat-footed satyrs of Greek mythology, and in both cases they reveal how strong were the old animistic ideas in popular belief. This belief in demons continued in Europe throughout the Middle Ages, and may still be found in certain out-of-the-way places down to the present time; one of the characteristics of demons was the propensity for snatching bodies from their graves in the churchyards; hence arose the necessity for guarding them by the efficacy of the cross that crowned the roof of chancel or chantry chapel, and, since most of their fell deeds were carried out by night, the need for the lamp to be placed in the ' low-side ' window. This is all derived from animism, but to dwell upon it further would lead us into the whole subject of demonology.

Another cognate subject to be considered in this chapter is that of names. At first sight, perhaps, this may appear somewhat far-fetched in connexion with animism, but a moment's consideration will show that it is not so. Names, with us, are meaningless words attached for convenience to individuals for the purpose of distinguishing one from another; but with primitive man it was not so.[1] As Mr. Hill-Tout says: ' Names are more to the primitive mind than to ours. The savage does not look upon them in the same light as we do. They are not to him mere tags or labels to distinguish one person from another; they are part and parcel, essential attributes, of the thing itself, intimately and mystically connected with it. Consequently when he assumes the name of a thing he believes and feels himself to be closely bound to and associated with the spirit of that thing, and the spirit with him. Names are mystery words, potent for good and ill, and not to be lightly used or

[1] With us they are *denotative*; with primitive man they are *connotative*.

uttered. He who knows the mystery name of a thing, has that thing in his power.' [1]

To the same effect the late Dr. Howitt writes: 'When the new name is given at initiation, the child's name becomes secret, not to be revealed to strangers, or to be mentioned by friends. The reason appears to be that a name is part of a person, and therefore can be made use of to that person's detriment by any who wish to "catch" him by evil magic.' [2]

Many other examples of the same habit in primitive thought might be given, and the meaning in each case is the same though the application may differ.

Now have we not in this idea of primitive man the explanation of the fact that such a vast number of the names of individuals in the Old Testament are compounds of Yahweh or El or Baal? The original notion may have, and in all probability had, died out in historic times, but the custom was a survival from the animism of far-away ancestors. When a man was called Jerub-Baal, or Joash, or Jehoshaphat, or Jeroboam, or Eli, or Elijah, it signified his mystic union with the god whose name he bore, and the protection of Baal, the strength of El, or the mysterious potency of Yah, whose name must not be uttered, was enlisted on his side. A striking illustration of the power enshrined in a new name is to be found in the account given in Gen. xxxii. 24–32, of the wrestling of Jacob at the brook Jabbok with the mysterious man whom he discovers afterwards to be none other than God himself. This is no doubt a later version of an earlier story in which Jacob is represented as wrestling with the river-god, the defender of the ford over which Jacob desired to pass. The god did not wish his territory to be invaded, and Jacob before doing so had to win the right by overcoming him, though in the wrestling-match the Patriarch did not come off scot-free, for we are told that as he passed over Penuel the sun

[1] *British North America*, p. 176. Cf. Ovington, *A Voyage to Suratt*, 1696: 'The *Mogul* confers upon them [his Omrahs] such Names of Dignity, as by their personal Conduct or Accomplishment he thinks they merit. This is a common thing practised likewise in other Kingdoms of the *East*, as at *Siam*; the King there gives Names not only to his Domesticks and *Mandarins*, or Nobles, but to his very Elephants. Though his own Name is industriously conceal'd, lest his Enemies by some Enchantment might work upon it.'

[2] *Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, p. 736.

rose upon him and he halted upon his thigh. The reason of this was that the god, we are told, had touched the hollow of his thigh, and it shrank. But Jacob was the victor, and the later editor in giving us the story tells us the result of the victory. The mysterious man or river-god is none other than El himself, whom Jacob recognizes; and he calls the name of the place Peniel, that is: ' I have seen God face to face, and my life is preserved.' So he explains his strange experience. The thing we more particularly note is that in the course of the struggle the stranger has asked Jacob his name, and after receiving his reply has said: ' Thy name shall no more be called Jacob but Israel.' His name is changed after his magic wrestling with Elohim, and the ' new name ' is bestowed upon him in token that he has successfully passed through what we may call practically his *intichiuma* or ' ceremony of initiation ' by which he is born into a new relationship with God, and henceforth he himself and all his descendants belonged in a special sense to Elohim. Israel is thenceforward the people of God.

In this primitive animistic idea may also be found the explanation of the prominence given to the ' Name of Yahweh ' in the religious literature of Israel. The ' Name of Yahweh ' means all that is involved in the Being of Yahweh, all that Israel realizes of Him in the ever-expanding fullness of His revelation of Himself to her, and thus the ' Name of Yahweh ' is ' a strong tower; the righteous runneth into it and is safe ' (Prov. xviii. 10).

With this agree the numerous passages in the Psalms in which mention is made of the name of Yahweh; in Psalm vi. 5, we read that ' in death there is no remembrance of thee ', as it is translated in the Authorized Version. Here the word for remembrance is *ziker*, which is connected with the Assyrian *zikaru*, to name, to mention, whence the word *zikru*, name; here then we have reference to the recital or solemn mention of God's titles to honour and gratitude in the ritual services; for, as we have seen, to primitive man the name is the expression of the personality, and, ideally at least, it is the manifestation of the personality. Thus in reciting the names and titles of God the worshipper would be bringing His full personality in remembrance before him, and of this, says the Psalmist, there is no possibility in the underworld to which one is removed by death. The significance

of the name is, therefore, well brought out in the narrative referred to above, where Jacob receives his new name and is told: ' Thy name shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel shall be thy name.'

So, to the latest period almost of her literary activity (Ps. vi belongs to the Persian period), the purest and noblest minds in Israel give expression to their thoughts in conceptions derived from the very earliest animistic imaginings of their ancestors. To the same cycle of ideas belong all those passages in the Prophets, as well as in the Psalms, in which prominence is given to the ' name of Yahweh '; it may be noted that the same animistic conceptions are to be seen in the theology of St. Paul; in the prominence given to the ' Name of Jesus ' in the Acts of the Apostles and elsewhere in the New Testament; in the ' new name ' promised to ' him that overcometh ' in the Epistle to the Angel of the Church in Philadelphia (Rev. iii. 12); and in the expression of the highest religious ideas by ourselves.[1]

[1] Students of the Old Testament will observe that my conclusions differ in many respects from those of my friend and revered teacher, the late Canon Cheyne, where he touches on the same subjects in his later books and particularly in *Traditions and Beliefs of Ancient Israel.* He was unrivalled as an authority on Hebrew, though his very learning made him an unsafe guide in emendations of the text, and this defect was enhanced by his obsession with the ' north Arabian ' and ' Jerahmeel ' theories, first propounded by Winckler, which will never win acceptance. He was versed in old Babylonian and Iranian lore, but he knew little of archaeology and was no anthropologist.

I must also utter a word of warning against the theory put forward by Professor Elliot Smith, which would derive the idea of the ' spirit in the stone ' and all kindred notions from Egypt, whence, he would have us believe, it was carried east and west in the migrations of peoples from Neolithic times onwards, and was connected with the practice of mummification. This can never account for the universality of animistic beliefs among primitive peoples of the past and of to-day, and no anthropologist can give it a hearing. Professor Elliot Smith is a great Egyptologist and anatomist, but his anthropology is at fault. See Elliot Smith, *The Migrations of Early Culture*, Manchester, 1915.

CHAPTER IV

TOTEMISM IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

THE title of this chapter may seem at first sight to be a begging of the question. It may be said, 'It has to be proved that Totemism, or rather traces of it, can be found in the Old Testament before so definite a title can be given'.

It is necessary to say this because in his great work *Totemism and Exogamy* Sir J. G. Frazer, though an avowed pupil of the late Robertson Smith, expresses himself as very doubtful whether the ancestors of the civilized nations, the Turanians, Aryans, and Semites, ever passed through a stage of Totemism in the process of their social evolution.[1] Robertson Smith was convinced, in the case of the Semites, that they did; so also is Dr. König, who in his *Geschichte der alttestamentlichen Religion* makes a very thorough investigation not only of the progress of Old Testament religion but also of its origins. On pages 61 ff. he has a short discussion of Totemism, and on pp. 75 ff. a similar discussion as to the 'cult' of sacred stones, wells, and trees. The first is marred by the fact that Dr. König connects Totemism with religion. We know that Totemism is an intimate relation supposed to exist between a group of kindred people and a species of natural or artificial objects, which are called the totems of the human group, and a man no more worships his totem or regards it as a god than he worships his father or mother. Totemism is the social side of Animism, and it is Animism that leads on to, if it is not already, religion. To discuss the worship of animals or of ancestors under the heading of Totemism, as Dr. König does, is therefore beside the mark. It may be noted that Dr. König also shows himself unfamiliar with the true aspects of Animism in what he says of sacred trees, wells, and stones, for he connects these with fetishism, which is a later phase altogether; holding the somewhat confused ideas as to Animism and Totemism which he does it is not surprising that Dr. König entitles this part of his treatise 'Fragliche Vorstufen der israelitischen Religion'; but it is enough for us that he recognizes Totemism as existent among

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv, pp. 13 ff.

the ancestors of Israel and finds traces of it in the Old Testament.

As regards the Aryans the late Sir G. L. Gomme and Professor A. H. Keane have shown persuasive evidence of their totemic stage from relics of it which still exist in the traditions and folklore of the European peoples; in the case of the Turanians the same may be held at the least probable, if not proved.

Egyptian religion also shows unmistakable signs that that people passed through a totemic stage of society, to whatever race they belonged; the animal, bird, and insect cults of Egypt are a sufficient proof of this; for example, the city of Bubastis was sacred to the cat, Heliopolis to the ibis, Kom Ombo to the crocodile, and so on.

Our object here is to carry forward the researches of Robertson Smith and to show that indubitable traces of Totemism have been left, like glacial boulders on the Yorkshire moors, upon the pages of the Old Testament. Totemism and Animism belong to the same stage of culture, and where Animism has left so many traces we may naturally suppose that Totemism also is not without witness, although, from the nature of the case, its traces are not so salient as those of Animism.

Among the natives of Australia to-day, and among the Indians of North America in a somewhat more restricted and probably later form (for although the *word* comes from North America the *thing* seems to exist in its most primitive guise in Australia), society is arranged on a basis of Totemism; it was so also among the natives of many parts of Africa until recently, and probably among the primitive peoples of Asia and Europe coincidently with Animism. To show that the ancestors of Israel passed through this stage in the evolution of their culture we should be able to point to three things which are the sure marks of Totemism wherever it exists: (1) names derived from plants and animals; (2) a system of *tabu*; and (3) traces of group-marriage. With this we should also expect to find traces of a time when kinship was reckoned in the female line and not in the male; for among primitive races *Mutterrecht* must be allowed in almost every case to have preceded *Vaterrecht*—a consideration which incidentally goes to prove that the Arunta and other tribes in Central Australia who reckon, although

Totemists, by male descent are in a later stage of culture and more advanced than those who still reckon by female descent.[1]

Taking our three points, with their corollary, we shall find clear traces of Totemism in the Old Testament, and these are amply sufficient for our purpose, without entering into the more recondite questions ably discussed by Dr. Zapletal and Mr. Stanley A. Cook.[2]

1. Bearing in mind what was stated in the previous chapter as to the conceptions formed by primitive man with regard to names, we have at once a reasonable explanation to account for the large number of names derived from plants and animals, which we find surviving among the Hebrews, such as no other hypothesis can afford.

'In the mind of the Indian', as Mr. Hill-Tout points out, 'as in that of the savage in general, the form of the thing and the spirit of it were one and the same; the connexion between the two was most intimate and binding. Hence when a man believed himself under the protection of the spirit of a thing, his first act was to secure this thing, in whole or in part, and wear it upon his person, or, if this were not possible, hide it in some secure place where he could resort to it in time of trouble or need.'

We may compare the *churinga nanja* of the Arunta, each denoting the particular totem of its possessor, and all securely deposited in the *ertnatulunga*, the sacred and secret hiding-places of the clan, known only to the initiates, and into which no woman dared to pry. Mr. Hill-Tout continues: 'He had still another and even surer way of keeping himself "in touch" with his guardian spirit, and that was by assuming and taking to himself the mystery name of the object which was his totem. This the spirit revealed to him when it conferred its protection upon him.'[3]

Here we note the essential distinction between the American and the Australian type of Totemism, in that the former has become individual, whereas the latter remains tribal, or rather serves to mark the divisions within the tribe. Thus every Australian belongs, by the very fact of his birth, to some

[1] Frazer, *op. cit.*, passim.

[2] Zapletal, *Der Totemismus und die Religion Israels*, 1901; S. A. Cook, 'Israel and Totemism', *Jewish Quarterly Review*, April 1902.

[3] Hill-Tout, *British North America*, 1907, p. 176.

definite totem class or phratry, either, as in the case of the Dieri and others, to that of his mother, or, in the case of the Kamilaroi and Kurnai, to that of his father; or, as in the case of the Arunta, to that of the locality in which he happens to be born; whereas, in the American sense, the totem is the guardian spirit of the individual revealed at initiation. And inasmuch as tribal or family consciousness precedes the notion of individual personality (this is a well ascertained fact), we see that the American type of Totemism is a later stage than the Australian. Probably the type of which we find traces in the Old Testament is rather of this later kind, although the earlier type has itself also left traces. Here then, in any case, is the origin of and reason for the fact that the names most commonly used by primitive races are those of animals, plants, and other natural objects, and the fact that so many such names are found in the Old Testament is a proof of the survival of the custom after the meaning of it had been lost or forgotten.

Many are the theories which have been proposed to account for the *origin* of Totemism; these need not be discussed here; if any wish to pursue the study further I would remark that a combination of Sir J. G. Frazer's latest theory with one put forward by Dr. A. C. Haddon [1] seems to me most effectually to meet all the facts of the case; on the other hand, notwithstanding the cleverness with which its author propounded it, both in *Social Origins* and in *The Secret of the Totem*, Andrew Lang's theory, first proposed by Herbert Spencer, that totem names were originally sobriquets or nicknames, appears to me more improbable than any other. The fact remains that savages distinguish their tribal groups or themselves by names derived from animals, plants, &c., and that such names survive in later stages of culture; the only reasonable hypothesis is that such a custom points back in every case to a time when society was organized on a totemic basis. Thus even among the Romans of the historic period we find the *gentes* Asinii (asses), Caninii (dogs), and Fabii (beans). So among the Hebrews we find the Calebites (dogs), but the majority of such names in the Old Testament are, as already stated, personal, not tribal or clannish,

[1] Haddon, ' Totemism ', Presidential Address, Section H, British Association, 1902.

pointing to the American rather than the Australian type of Totemism; such names are: Ela, *Terebinth*; Anah, *Wild Ass*; Ornan, *Pine-tree*; Deborah, *Bee*; Jonah, *Dove*; Caleb, *Dog*; Nun, *Fish*; Ophrah, *Gazelle*; Korah, *Partridge*; Rachel, *Ewe*; Tola, *Worm*; Samar, *Palm*. Among place-names we may notice: Elah, *Oak*; Eshcol, *Cluster of Grapes*; Telaim, *Lambs*; Laish, *Lion*; Zeboim, *Hyenas*; Shural, *Fox*. These are only examples; a complete list will be found in Jacobs' *Studies in Biblical Archaeology* (Nutt, 1894); a full list of the Arab tribal totem-names is given in Robertson Smith's *Kinship and Marriage*, and the student may further consult the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, article *Names*. Andrew Lang has a note on the subject in *Social Origins*, where, however, I cannot agree, as stated above, with his derivation of the names from sobriquets or nicknames.

Robertson Smith's careful statement in *Religion of the Semites* (pp. 354–5) will fittingly bring us to our next point, in which we return to the most primitive ideas. He says: ' In looking further into this matter, we must distinguish between the sacred domestic animals of pastoral tribes ' (such as we find among the Zulus, the Masai, and others in Africa, and the Todas in India), '—the milk-givers, whose kinship with men rests on the principle of fosterage—and those other sacred animals of wild or half-domesticated kinds, such as the dove and the swine, which even in the later days of Semitic heathenism were surrounded by strict taboos, and looked upon as, in some sense, partakers of a divine nature. The latter are undoubtedly the older class of sacred beings.... Totemism ', he goes on, ' pure and simple has its home among races like the Australians and the North American Indians, and seems always to lose ground after the introduction of pastoral life.'

In saying this Robertson Smith does not distinguish between the Australian and American types of Totemism, but that has no bearing on the truth of his argument; Totemism, it must be borne in mind, belongs as a stage in the evolution of society to the pre-agricultural time; such vestiges of it as we find in the Old Testament, as in the folklore of the civilized peoples, are merely survivals.

We come now to our second point, which is the existence of a system of *tabu*.

2. The question has often been asked as to the origin and meaning of the lists of animals, birds, creeping things, &c., in Leviticus xi and Deuteronomy xiv, which were to be accounted unclean, that is *tabu*, by the Israelites. The answer is that they were the survivals of the totemistic stage of society, in which they were the eponyms of totem clans, and in consequence they were tabooed as food; the fact is they had acquired a character of *sacredness* which was expressed by the word 'unclean'; this was for exactly the same reason that a canonical book was said by the Rabbis in later days ' to defile the hands '. Thus the swine was an unclean, really sacred, animal in exactly the same way that it was decided that the book of Canticles defiled the hands, that is, was a Holy Book and therefore canonical! The word *kadôsh* in Hebrew was used in exactly the same manner. The spoils of war were *kedôshim*, ' sacred to Yahweh ', and at the same time ' accursed '. This comes out most clearly in the story of Achan, who dared to lay his hand upon the spoils of Jericho, and by so doing brought defeat upon the people at Ai, a crime which is only atoned for by the stoning of himself and all his family to death (Josh. vii). In the same way the temple prostitutes were *kedêshim* and *kedêshôth*. The ideas conveyed by the word ' devoted ', or ' to be under a ban ', carried both senses. The word *sacer* was so employed in Latin and *hagios* in Greek. A similar double meaning still survives in the use of the French word ' sacré '. Now the primitive notion of *tabu* derived from Totemism combines and includes both senses.

How potent the ancient animistic and totemistic conceptions remained among the people through all the pre-exilic history of Israel is seen not only by a reference to the narratives of the reformations carried out by Hezekiah and Josiah, but by a reference to passages in the books of Ezekiel and Isaiah which testify to the prevalence of the same ideas during and after the Exile; these passages will come before us in the next chapters; meanwhile we observe that, though all rites connected with them had long been abandoned, yet these ideas leaven the whole tone of the popular religion throughout the Old Testament. We now come to our third point.

3. Traces of group-marriage. I have not so far mentioned exogamy because one of the results of Sir J. G. Frazer's investi-

gations has been to prove that Totemism may exist without exogamy, and vice versa, that the origin of each is independent, and that Totemism is in all probability the older of the two. But the classificatory system of marriage, says Frazer, is an invariable accompaniment of Totemism, and he denies that this system is to be discovered among the primitive Semites and Aryans. This may be the case as far as all records or remains in tradition or fact are concerned; but one fact, or rather a double fact, stands out in the Old Testament which has a close connexion with the system of classificatory or group-marriage, and is indeed discussed by Frazer under this heading. I refer to the Law of the Levirate, that is the obligation upon, or permission to, a deceased man's brothers to take his widow to wife, and with this Frazer associates what he calls the Sororate, that is the obligation upon, or permission to, a man to marry his wife's sisters either in her lifetime or after her death. Now the first of these customs survived as a law in Israel down to the time of Our Lord, and is even advanced as a poser to Jesus by the Sadducees who desired to bring the idea of resurrection into ridicule. Of the second we have an instance in the story of Jacob, to mention no other example, though such a practice was afterwards forbidden by the Law.[1]

Finally, the story of the daughters of Zelophehad, together with the position held by Miriam in the earliest strata of Exodus, and the story of Ruth and Boaz, with its most interesting archaeological reference to the ancient custom in Israel of a man's 'plucking off his shoe' in ratifying a covenant, sufficiently testify to the fact that there must in all probability have been a far-off time when the ancestors of Israel reckoned descent in the female and not in the male line.

There is one further point to be considered. On a review of the whole subject of Totemism I was led some years ago to the conclusion that it might well be briefly defined as 'the heraldry of primitive man', and Professor A. H. Keane arrived independently at the same opinion.[2]

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, i. 426 ff.; ii. 18, 26, 79, 189 ff.; iv. 10, 12, 139 ff.; MacLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, 1st ser., pp. 109 ff.; Matt. xxii. 23 ff.; Lev. xviii. 18.

[2] Astley, 'Cup and Ring Markings', *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xli, 1911, pp. 96 ff.; and 'Portuguese Parallels to Clydeside

That is to say that the emblems of the totems, whatever they might be, were often used as badges or crests denoting the family or clan to which they belonged. Here indeed we have the origin of heraldry with all its ramifications, and of heraldic crests and badges and national flags. In *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iii, p. 40, Sir J. G. Frazer discusses this very point:

> The Delawares used the figures of their totems as badges or crests to distinguish the tribal subdivision to which they belonged. On this subject Hechewälder says: 'The Turtle warrior draws either with a coal or paint here and there on the trees along the war-path the whole animals carrying a gun with the muzzle projecting forward, and if he leaves a mark at the place where he has made a stroke on his enemy, it will be the picture of a tortoise. Those of the Turkey tribe paint only one foot of a turkey, and the Wolf tribe, sometimes a wolf at large, with one leg and foot raised up to serve as a hand, in which the animal also carries a gun with the muzzle forward.'

He further says that the Indians in their hours of leisure paint their different marks or badges on the doors of their respective houses, that those who pass by may know to which tribe the inhabitants belong. These marks also serve them for signatures to treaties and other documents.

Now in the description of the arrangement of the tribes of Israel in Numbers ii, we read that each tribe took its station with its standard waving over it; and that these probably represented some animal or plant, like our flags and crests, may be deduced from the fact that in the Blessings of Jacob and Moses (Gen. xl. and Deut. xxxiii)—very old songs—what had been probably the totems of several of the tribes are mentioned: of Judah, the lion; of Dan, in Genesis the serpent, in Deuteronomy the lion's whelp; of Issachar, a strong ass; of Naphtali, a hind; and of Joseph, a vine—and the others may be supposed to have been of the same kind. Surely far away in the distant past Totemism had been a living power in the social system of the ancestors of Israel.[1]

Discoveries', *Journal British Archaeological Association*, vol. lx, 1904; A. H. Keane, *The Import of the Totem*.

[1] With the 'heraldic' aspect of Totemism we may also connect the 'mark of Cain', a tribal mark on the forehead or hand, by which he would be recognized as 'devoted to Yahweh', and the subsequent prohibition of 'tattooing'. See Gen. iv. 15; Lev. xix. 28, xxi. 5; Deut. xiv. 1, and cf. Ezek. ix. 46, Rev.

Thus we see, underlying all the progress of later times, relics in superstition and social arrangements, survivals of animistic and totemistic conceptions, which tell of the earliest ideas of primitive men, and of social *couches* long left behind when the earliest pages of the Old Testament were written. These survived among the Israelites in folk-lore and superstition through all the advancing teaching of the prophets and the growing purification and progress of the cult of Yahweh, from the time when He was merely the national god, to the era when He was recognized as the one transcendent and immanent God of all the earth and of all the nations, even as they do among ourselves in the twentieth century of the Christian faith, and they thus form an abiding witness to the great anthropological truth that everywhere and always, in similar stages of culture, and under a corresponding environment, *man is the same*.

All this is a further proof of the correctness of the teaching of Anthropology as to the evolution of man, and, incidentally, of the truth of the views propounded by the Higher Criticism as to the origin and development of the wonderful literature of Israel which goes by the name of the Old Testament.

vii. 3, Gal. vi. 17. See article, 'Cuttings of the Flesh', *Encyc. Bibl.* The later frontlets and phylacteries were substitutes for these ancient barbarities.

CHAPTER V

PRIMITIVE ART AND MAGIC[1]

THE expression ' Primitive Art ' might be taken to include all that primitive man ever made, whether in the past or in the present, his weapons, his tools, his utensils and such-like, whether ornamented or not, whatever he has manufactured beyond the simple raw materials put in his way by Nature. It would include the roughly fashioned flint of the Mousterian cave-dweller as well as the beautiful leaf-blades of Solutré and the incised and ornamented bones of La Madeleine.

It is not these, however, that we shall consider in this chapter, except perhaps incidentally the ornamental work of La Madeleine; by Primitive Art is here understood more particularly the pictographic art of primitive man as it is found in caves of the Aurignacian Period of Palaeolithic times, in prehistoric Egypt, in the Mycenaean wall-paintings of Crete and the mainland of Greece, and later on, speaking chronologically, in Neolithic times in the north, in such examples as the Kivik Rock in Sweden, and among modern primitive races the drawings of the Eskimoes in the Far North and the Bushmen in South Africa, or the natives of Australia, more especially the Arunta in the central region; and from a comparison of the present-day examples with those of the past I shall hope to demonstrate, as far as it is possible to do so, that it is primitive magic that lies at the root of all such art, and that for the most practical of purposes, the well-being of the community through the increase and preservation of the food supply. This may seem a very prosaic reason to assign for what are in many cases really beautiful works of art, but it lies in the nature and constitution of primitive man.

There are few to-day, I take it, even among those who are not professed students of prehistorics, who are not familiar with the wonderful examples of Aurignacian art which the discoveries of later years have brought to light in the caves of southern France and northern Spain. Those who have no opportunity of seeing the originals may obtain the best idea of them from the illustra-

[1] Compare for this chapter Professor Elliot Smith's essay in Marvin, *Art and Civilization.* London: Milford, 1928.

tions in Professor Obermaier's book, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit*, which gives some in facsimile of the original colouring, and in Professor Hoernes' *Der Diluviale Mensch in Europa*, and Professor Buttel-Reepen's *Der Urmensch vor und während der Eiszeit in Europa*. English books include *The British Museum Catalogue of the Stone Age*, and Laing's *Human Origins*, which, however, only illustrate some of the Magdalenian specimens; Sollas's *Ancient Hunters*, Professor H. F. Osborn's *Old Stone Age*, and Mr. M. C. Burkitt's *Prehistory* illustrate the cave-dwellings.[1]

These Aurignacian drawings, which are probably of an antiquity of some thirty thousand years or more, are admitted on all hands to be the most lifelike and artistic of any to be found in primitive art: we have only to look at the bisons, thirty in number, on the wall of the cave of Altamira; the mammoths, fourteen, and horses in the caves of Marsoulas and Combarelles; the dancing women in the cave of Cogul, to be at once struck by the marvellous outburst of artistic ability which is apparent. In an article published in the *Hibbert Journal* in 1918 I described many of these, and referred to the Presidential Address delivered by Sir Arthur Evans before the British Association at Newcastle in 1916, in which he enlarged fully upon the subject; it is therefore unnecessary for the description to be repeated here. But, as Sir C. Hercules Read pointed out in his Presidential Address before the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1918, it is evident that such a glorious outburst of art predicates a long period of effort, and learning, and attempting, before the power to execute such masterpieces was attained. Shall we ever discover any of these earlier efforts of the great Cro-Magnon race? It is possible, and to be hoped, that we shall.

In the Magdalenian period, which carries us on to that of Mas d'Azil and to the verge of the Neolithic, the art of fresco-drawing would appear to have been abandoned, but lifelike figures of the mammoth, reindeer, horses, cattle, men and women, and other objects are depicted, or rather incised, on mammoth-ivory and bone, and, as Sir C. Hercules Read pointed out, the animals would appear to have been studied by the primitive artist in a state of rest as well as in one of activity; beside the bounding and

[1] See also *The Corridors of Time*, Peake and Fleure, 4 vols. (Clarendon Press, 1927).

crouching bisons and the galloping horses and reindeer we have the reindeer standing quietly drinking by the side of the pool, and the cow at Bruniquel waiting to be milked, as Mr. Pocock affirms,[1]—the age of domestication has begun.

In the primitive art of Egypt prior to the beginning of the regal period under Menes and onward through the earlier dynasties, so graphically described by M. Capart in his book *Primitive Art in Egypt*, we find the same freedom and breadth, the same naturalness, the same consummate skill in depicting the creatures by which the artist was encompassed in his daily life. What can exceed, for example, the perfection of the drawing of the geese of Meidum from one of the Mastabas at Sakkhara, now to be seen in the museum at Cairo?

It is only as time goes on under succeeding dynasties that the art of Egypt became conventionalized into the type which remained unchanged to the end of Egyptian history, and though the monotony of the frescoes on Egyptian temples becomes wearisome, the beauty of the designs and the colouring in the Mastabas of the nobles and, above all, in the Tombs of the Kings in the Theban hills cannot be denied.

When we come to the art of the Mycenaean Age in Greece, delved from the ruins of Mycenae and Tiryns and Troy by the patient though somewhat unscientific labours of Dr. Schliemann, and to that of Crete, the discovery of which we owe to the wholly scientific exploration of Sir A. Evans at Knossos and to the Italians at Palaeocastro and elsewhere, we find, along with a great deal of geometric and spiral decoration, frescoes depicting great bulls in act to charge, and athletic youths and maidens engaged in dancing, leaping, running, and other exercises, all of them drawn and coloured in the most free and natural and unconventional style—one that differs as much from the later style of classical Greece as the art of the Cave-men and of primitive Egypt differs from the later conventionalized art of that country.

In Neolithic times and among the Neolithic peoples art degenerated sadly, and required to be slowly recaptured; it has been well described as exhibiting the earlier efforts of children more than anything else, and whatever may be true as to a

[1] Quoted by Sir C. Hercules Read, *J. R. A. I.*, vol. xlviii, p. 16.

hiatus between the Palaeolithic and Neolithic periods, it goes to show at least that there was no communication between the Cave-men and their later successors. Taking as our illustration of Neolithic art the drawings on the Kivik monument in Sweden [1] —later, no doubt, in time though earlier in age, than the Bronze Age art of the Mycenaeans—we are struck by the truth of the above description. On the surface of the rock we find depicted there: on one panel, two axes, a dagger, two lance-heads, and, below, a boat, or more probably a sledge—the axes remind us of the double axe in the Mycenaean cult; on a second panel there are two horses following each other above, and two facing one another below, a chevron ornament enclosed in lines; on a third panel there are two circles, which may be meant for the sun and moon, with crosses, between two bands of zigzag ornament; on a fourth and fifth panel there are figures of men and women, a two-horsed chariot, and what may be bears; and on the sixth panel two more circles with crosses, and above, two crescent moons with horns. The art is childish, but it falls into line.

Among primitive peoples of the present day we will only specify what has already been mentioned, the art of the Eskimoes, of the Bushmen of South Africa, and of the Central Australian tribes.

The Eskimoes, a people of the Reindeer period to-day, as is well known execute beautiful little pictures on whale and narwhal ivory representing hunting and fishing scenes, in a most graphic and lifelike style; some North American Indians are equally clever in executing drawings of a remarkably lifelike character depicting the animals in the midst of which they live—the bison, the beaver, the squirrel, the tortoise, the frog, engraved on trees or rocks; the drawings of the Bushmen depicting ostriches, antelope, elephants, rhinoceros, the gnu, and others electrified the scientific world not so many years ago—indeed, a drawing of a herd of ostriches executed in black and white and greyish blue is worthy to be compared with the geese of Meidum for perfection of workmanship; on the other hand the human figures, for example a man and woman facing one another, the latter steatopygous,[2] are strangely crude.

[1] Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, pp. 377–9.

[2] Steatopygous. This is a term applied to describe the curious accumula-

When we go to Australia we find ourselves face to face with the rudest forms of art, but it is from that strange island-continent, so long isolated and cut off from all intercourse with the rest of the world, that we gain our clue, and find light thrown upon all this widespread diffusion of art and the expression of the artistic instinct throughout the ages, and it explains why the most exquisite drawings of the Grimaldi and Cro-Magnon people in the Aurignacian period were executed in the innermost recesses of inaccessible caverns in a darkness to which the light of day never penetrated. It is our argument that the principle which lies at the basis of these Aurignacian and Australian drawings is also explanatory of those which were executed in the full light of day, and in which the primitive artist, like his civilized *confrère*, could find a real pleasure as well.

In passing, we may note a curious record of the survival of the form of art in vogue among the Aurignacian people and the modern Australians among a people who had long left the savage and even the barbaric stage behind. I refer to a striking passage in the book of the prophet Ezekiel which we shall discuss in the next chapter ; there we shall find that these people are doing precisely what the Cave-men presumably did, and what the Arunta and other native tribes in Australia are doing to-day. Let us examine this more closely.

As we have seen, the artistry of all these expressions of the artistic instinct varies from the most wonderful perfection, hardly to be excelled by any modern artist, to the most crude and childish poverty in design, and in Egypt becomes stereotyped into conventional forms which are not devoid of their own beauty; but the contention here put forward is that none of the work was done for a purely artistic purpose, or, as it were, to satisfy man's aesthetic sense.

Primitive man is nothing if not practical; at the same time he

tion of fat on the buttocks which seems to have marked the females of the Cro-Magnon race and which is to be seen to-day, in a somewhat modified degree, in the Hottentot and Bushman races. The 'doll-images' from the Cave of Brassempouy and others are characterized in this way, and I have seen similar figurines in the museum at Valetta, Malta, from an ancient necropolis in that island. Some doubt has been expressed as to whether the figurines at Valetta are really 'steatopygous'; they certainly represent fat females, but the accumulation of fat on the buttocks is remarkable, and more pronounced than in any other part of the body.

is the slave of convention; and judging by his environment and the necessities of his existence and taking the hint we derive from Australia, we may discover without difficulty the practical end he had in view.

Here some objector may say: It is all very well; we know what you are driving at, and you are only wearing thin a thrice-told tale; it is agreed that it was *religion* that led to all this development of art. Thus Professor Salomon Reinach discusses what he describes as ' the masterpiece of this phase of art '—that is, the Quaternary phase, the art of the Cave-men. It consists of a group of reindeer engraved on an antler from the Cave of Lorthet in the Pyrenees; one of the animals is shown ' galloping in an attitude first revealed to us in modern times by instantaneous photography ', ' unknown to all the artists of intermediate ages '; the spaces between and under the reindeer are occupied by a couple of salmon, and above the last reindeer are two pointed lozenges. Discussing this the Professor says: ' This association of the great river-fish with the reindeer is doubtless due to some religious idea '; and again: ' the study of the birth of religion is interwoven with that of the origin of art. Born simultaneously, art and religion were closely connected for long ages; their affinity is still evident enough to the thinking mind.' The latter statement is obviously true; it is the words 'born simultaneously' that I criticize. As I take it, art was born long antecedently to, and for long continued independently of, what can in any proper sense be called religion. Professor Reinach is nearer the mark when he says, earlier in the same passage: ' Civilized man makes hyperbolic use of the expression " the magic of art ". The primitives actually believed in it.' [1] Again, Mr. MacCulloch, writing in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* on Primitive Art, follows Professor Reinach in holding that the art of Quaternary man had a ' religio-magical character '. Here I would delete, for the period spoken of, the word 'religio' from the epithet.

It is our contention that the origin of art is to be found in magic pure and simple, and that it is coincident with the totemic system as the basis of social arrangements.

In my opinion Sir J. G. Frazer, however much one may dis-

[1] Reinach, *The Story of Art throughout the Ages*, pp. 5, 6.

agree with some of his conclusions, has proved to demonstration that magic preceded religion in the time-history and psychology of man, and that Totemism in itself is not a religion, though it may develop into one.[1]

Religion, as he says, implies the existence of superior forces or powers, who may be propitiated and bent to the will of the worshippers by prayers and offerings. But as we look at primitive art and take our hint from Australia we see that there is nothing of this kind in it. Messrs. Spencer and Gillen distinctly say: ' The performance of the ceremonies is not associated in the native mind with the idea of appealing to the assistance of any supernatural being.'[2]

Primitive art, whether in its rudest or its most finished expression, in the past or in the present, finds its explanation in sympathetic magic, which, as Sir J. G. Frazer says, is ' the science of primitive man '; like science it is founded on a belief in the orderliness of Nature and the conviction that like causes will always produce like effects, so that the performance of the proper ceremony and the use of the correct spell or charm will inevitably be attended by the desired results. It was only after long ages and many failures that man discovered his impotence; and religion arose on the bankruptcy of magic.[3]

But what was it that the magic of the pictures, whether in the darkness of secluded caves, as among the Aurignacians and the Arunta; or on rock-surfaces or on trees, as on the Kivik monument or among the Bushmen or the North American Indians; or engraved on bone and ivory, as among the Magdalenians or the Eskimoes, was intended to produce? Primarily, the well-being of the tribe through the increase and stabilization of the food supply and the multiplication of the totem species.[4]

[1] ' Totemism is not a religion.' True; but it develops into one when the representation—whether pictograph or sculptured figure (doll, not yet idol)—comes to be personified, or viewed as the abode of a spirit. Worship then easily follows. The object has become a fetish. Thus the progress is from totemism, with its concomitant magical ceremonies, through fetishism to idolatry. See the whole subject discussed in Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv, pp. 4, 5, 27; 101 sq.

[2] Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 170.

[3] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., Part 1, The Magic Art, vol. i. 220–43.

[4] It must, of course, be understood that a totem-clan is not permitted to

If we take our journey again to Australia, we shall see there the natives engaged in their *Intichiuma* ceremonies in the *Ertnatulunga*, i.e., as already explained, the secret and sacred recesses in the hills, where are the sacred paintings, and where are stored the *churinga*, that is the sacred stones or pieces of wood engraved with the symbols of the totem tribes in which the soul of each individual member is kept safe, and we can picture to ourselves the men of the Stone Age in the caves of France and Spain indulging in precisely similar corroborees and orgiastic dances and ceremonies for a similar purpose twenty or thirty thousand years ago. The same thing holds true of the men who fashioned the Kivik monument, or executed the prehistoric work of Egypt, or the fine drawings on Mycenaean palaces and temples; though, in this later case, religion is already taking her place. As is well known, in the historic period in Egypt magic and religion are inextricably blended, as we find them in some forms of Christianity to-day. That the differentiation is a true one may be seen by a reference to the passage from Ezekiel. Against the practices carried on in such ' secret chambers ' the Deuteronomist had thundered his prohibition, in which nothing is said about *worship* of the figures displayed; it is magical practices that are clearly intended. On the other hand, when the comments on the ' Ten Words ' were issued as a part of the priestly code the prohibition in that on the second commandment is directed against idolatry fully developed: ' Thou shalt not bow down to them nor worship them.'

Magic and Totemism, which still survived in the lower strata of society—as magic does still among the lower strata of our own people[1]—have given place to religion.

eat of its own totem, except under special and exceptional circumstances. Consequently the ceremonies engaged in for the multiplication of the totem species are primarily for the benefit of neighbours whose totem it is not. As Sir J. G. Frazer says: ' One at least of the functions of a totem-clan is to provide a plentiful supply of its own totem animal or plant to be used as food by the other members of the tribe.' Thus we have among these primitive people the highest example of altruism the world affords! Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i, pp. 109 sq.; Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, p. 207, but note: it seems not to have been always so, *ibid.*, p. 208.

[1] How strong the belief in magic still is among the lower strata of our own population may be seen from the following example, which occurred not a hundred miles from where I am writing, quite recently. A woman had been suffering for a long time from a large tumour in the right side of her neck and

Thus, just as religion gave a marvellous stimulus to art in the Athens of Pericles, after the strain of the Persian wars had been relaxed, and to Christendom in the Middle Ages when the world had begun to settle down once more after the cataclysm of the Gothic invasions, so magic, with a more practical aim in view, gave a similar stimulus, under the strain of the daily struggle for existence, to the nascent artistic instinct which is an inseparable factor in the complex nature of man.

And let us not forget that Totemism and magic are also inseparably combined. The origin of Totemism has been variously explained, but the one thing certain is that in some subtle way primitive man felt himself to be akin to the creatures among whom his lot was cast, and the question as to which of them any particular tribe or clan should take as their totem depended largely upon circumstances and the abundance of the species in the locality; but once the relationship was established it became an undying one.

Thus, in Australia, in the kangaroo totem, it is immaterial whether one speaks of men-kangaroos or of kangaroo-men; both are one. Formerly I was inclined to think of Totemism as having its origin in, and being characteristic of, the Neolithic Age, or of people in what may be designated the Neolithic stage of culture; a study of the art of the Cave-men leads me now, with Sir C. Hercules Read, to believe that the origins of Totemism are to be sought as far back as the Aurignacian period. Take that very picture which Professor Reinach describes as 'the masterpiece of Palaeolithic art', though I would rather reserve that term for the paintings in the Caves of Altamira, Alpera, Cogul, and others, and it is probably later than these, being Magdalenian rather than Aurignacian. In that drawing the reindeer and the salmon are probably the totems of two contiguous tribes who lived by fishing and hunting, which the

face, and always steadily refused to allow any operation to be performed. An aged man died, and she was persuaded by her neighbours and her own superstitious hopes and fears to allow the tumour to be stroked by one of the dead man's hands, in the full expectation of its disappearance; the idea, of course, being that as the body decays in the grave so the tumour will gradually vanish *pari passu*. She is now anxiously expecting this to take place! In his discussion of 'The homoeopathic magic of the dead' (*The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., Part 1, The Magic Art, vol. i, pp. 147–50), Sir J. G. Frazer does not refer to *this* use of the dead hand.

appropriate magic spells, combined with the representation, would cause to increase and flourish; and further, there are the two lozenge-shaped figures with the dot in the middle, which are clearly totem-signs ' understanded ' of those who fashioned them.

So with the bisons of Altamira, and the horses, the mammoth, the rhinoceros, the reindeer, and the rest of the creatures so graphically portrayed; in all probability they are the totems of various tribes; certainly it is the increase and the successful hunting of them that is intended to be effected by sympathetic magic; and an idea of the ceremonies by which this purpose, in conjunction with the drawings, was brought about, may be made more plain to the eye of our imagination not only by a study of the ceremonies performed, and the drawings, rude though they be, executed by the Australian natives in their *Ertnatulunga*, but by a study also of the scene so realistically described by Ezekiel.[1]

It is impossible in the compass of this chapter to enlarge on the subject as it concerns prehistoric and historic Egypt, Mycenaean Crete and Greece, the Kivik monument in Sweden, and similar examples, but though in many cases religion has intruded and become inextricably intertwined, and Totemism has faded or altogether passed away, it is still the ideas connected with sympathetic magic that explain them all.

The question may be asked: what about the human figures

[1] Compare the making of an image, clay or wax or even wood, of the person it is desired to injure, in the Highlands of Scotland and among primitive peoples in other parts of the world; in the Highlands it is known as the *Corp Chre* or *Chreagh*, i.e. clay body; this is placed in a running stream, pins inserted in various parts denote the mode of death desired, and as the water washes it away so the patient will suffer; if the image is of wax it is placed in front of a fire to melt, if of wood it is buried in soil where it is likely to undergo slow decay. See Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 sq., where the subject is fully discussed, and particularly pp. 68, 69. The image *is* the person, and as it melts or is otherwise destroyed so the person to be affected comes to his appointed end. A very remarkable instance of the survival of this belief occurred not many years ago in Norfolk. A prominent personage died lingeringly of cancer in the throat. After his death a person whom one would least suspect of superstitious practices, and whom he had wronged, mysteriously remarked: ' So-and-so did me an injury—he is dead now! ' Rumour persistently declared that she had made a waxen image of her enemy and inserted a pin in his throat—the foundation in fact being that she was familiar with, and had often spoken of, the practice referred to!

which are found in so many of the drawings? We find them in the Bushmen and Eskimo examples, and on the Kivik monument, and we find them also in the oldest and finest examples of all, that is in the caves of the Aurignacian period. In the Cave of Abri Mège, in the Dordogne, there are figures of men dressed in skins and with animal heads engaged in a dance exactly after the fashion of the Australians in their corroborees; in the Cave of Cogul we find women dancing and drawn with great spirit; and at Alpera there are huntsmen with bows and arrows, in various attitudes; other examples might be mentioned, but these will suffice. Now none of these could possibly be the totems of any tribe, nor would it be specially desired to conduce to an increase in their numbers! No, but all the same they may be explained on precisely the same principle. It is one of the canons of sympathetic magic that the image is not merely a symbol but is itself actually the thing portrayed or fashioned.

Thus in Egyptian tombs the Ushabti, or little figures of servants and other dependents of the deceased, are actually what they represent, and they are there to serve the Ka, or spirit, of the person interred, which is himself. So the hunting and fishing Eskimo figures are actually performing the actions which the designer desires to have carried out; so is it with the figures in the caves. Just as by dressing up and dancing and by the shooting of arrows and other such exercises which formed an integral part in their magical ceremonies certain definite results were, or were believed to be, brought about, so these men and women, engaged in their perpetual exercises and dances on the eternal walls of the caverns, bring the same effects eternally to pass. It must, of course, be borne in mind that in all we have been just saying we have been envisaging the subject from the point of view of primitive man.

In this chapter we have traversed rapidly a very wide field; much has been left unsaid; many arguments that would have strengthened our position have been perforce omitted, but enough has been adduced to lend the highest degree of probability, if not absolutely to prove, our thesis: that art began and for long ages pursued its course as a concomitant of magic, with which totemism as a living element was combined, before religion in any proper sense made its appearance; it is true of

magic, i.e. of sympathetic magic, rather than of religion, to say: Born simultaneously, art and magic were closely connected for long ages.

And as a concomitant of and part and parcel with magic, it is equally true to say that art and totemism, if not exactly 'born simultaneously', were closely connected for long ages, and are so still.

Thus Sir J. G. Frazer is justified in saying: 'While totemism has not demonstrably enlarged the material resources . . . of its votaries, it seems unquestionably to have done something to stir in them a sense of art. . . . If it was not the mother, it has been the foster-mother of painting and sculpture'; and after one of his well-known eloquent outbursts in which 'the rude drawings of the natives of Central Australia' are said to represent the germ of that long development which under happier skies blossomed out into the works of Michael Angelo, Titian and Turner—and in saying this he strengthens our argument that there must have been an antecedent 'germ' which 'after long ages' blossomed out into the perfection of the Aurignacian and Magdalenian drawings and artefacts—he concludes, combining magic and totemism in one pregnant phrase, 'Thus in Australia as in many other parts of the world magic may with some show of reason be called the nursing-mother of art.'[1]

In conclusion, I may refer to a suggestion made by that great artist, the late Solomon J. Solomon, that art should be constituted a 'key-industry', that is to say, that the young should be more systematically trained in the arts, especially in architecture. Thus, in free-hand drawing, instead of giving a child a spray of honeysuckle to draw as it were *per se*, he would have it correlated to actual use, and the child shown its position as an ornament in architecture. And this co-ordination should be made to run through all its education in drawing. In this way a living interest would be imparted to what might otherwise appear a merely sterile attainment in skill, and a knowledge of the evolution of architectural styles and the meaning of ornament would follow. Thus our people would learn not only to wonder but to admire, and to know *why* they admire, and certain elect souls would be stimulated to follow and surpass.

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. iv, p. 25.

Thus might something of ' the magic of art ' be recaptured in the modern world.

It has been stated in opposition to the thesis of this chapter that many works of primitive art in the past and the present may be explained on the principle of a love of beauty for its own sake, and that they were therefore executed to gratify the aesthetic sense of the artist; we are told, for example, that the inhabitants of the Easter Islands in the Pacific Ocean, when questioned as to the meaning of the wonderful statues and other works of art which have come down to them from their ancestors, reply that they were executed merely to give pleasure. This is probably nothing but a confession of ignorance on the part of the modern islander; in any case it would only apply to those works that have been carried out in full daylight; certainly it cannot apply to those, and some of them the most perfect, which are found in the deepest darkness of the caves, or in Egyptian tombs. I shall hold, and ask my readers to hold, to the explanation of sympathetic magic as covering the whole series, and in doing this we have the mentality and known constitution and habits of primitive man for our ally.

NOTE. One of the most interesting announcements made at the 1928 meeting of the British Association at Glasgow was the discovery by Mr. A. L. Armstrong in the Pin Hole Cave, in the Cresswell Crags, Derbyshire, of a bone, probably that of a reindeer, with an engraving of a human figure on it, the first found in England. The remarkable thing is that it represents ' a rudely drawn masked human figure standing erect, apparently in an attitude of ceremonial dancing '. At the same level were found a series of beautifully made proto-Solutrean and Aurignacian flint implements. Thus the people of that period in Britain are brought further into line with the artists of Cogul and the other cave-finds in France and Spain.

CHAPTER VI

SURVIVALS OF PRIMITIVE CULTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

ONE of the most interesting fields of research opened up to the student by Anthropology is that of the survival of primitive cults among peoples who themselves are in a much later stage of evolution; this applies to the student of the Old Testament as much as to those whose studies are more particularly concerned with other races and times. Such a study involves the realization of the meaning of, and the application to the subject of, what has been called historical perspective.

Apart from incidental hints and notices there are three passages in the Old Testament which bring the subject definitely before the minds of all who have paid attention to the ideas of primitive man; these may be found in the Books of Ezekiel and Isaiah and in an important passage in the Book of Deuteronomy; they are Ezekiel viii. 5–14 inclusive; Isaiah lxv. 2–7, and lxvi. 3; and Deuteronomy iv. 14 ff.

In this chapter we consider the passages in Ezekiel and Deuteronomy.

I

I will ask my readers to accompany me once more on a journey to southern France and northern Spain, where we shall see some of the earliest artistic efforts of the human race; we have travelled back some thirty thousand years at least, probably more, in time and we find ourselves in the Upper Palaeolithic epoch of Europe which is known as the Aurignacian; this followed the Mousterian and immediately preceded the Solutrian and Magdalenian Periods; and in the Caves of the Dordogne in France, and in those of Altamira, Alpera, Cogul and elsewhere in Spain, we shall see, depicted on the walls of the caverns, scenes which tell of the life and of the beliefs of the men of that early age.

Aeons have already passed since man's first appearance on the earth; the Eolithic, of the Pliocene in the Tertiary Period, and the Chellean, the Acheulian, and the Mousterian of the earlier Pleistocene, are gone by, during which the Heidelberg, the

Neanderthal, and other types of man flourished and died out; another race, the mighty Cro-Magnon, with which are associated the Grimaldi and others, is now at the zenith of its achievements; these men were hunters and lived by the products of the chase, and on the walls of the caverns in which they made their abode they have left examples of the animals—the mammoth, the reindeer, the bison, the horse, and others with which they were familiar; so perfect are they, and drawn with such skill and life-like effect, that we cannot imagine that they sprang, like Hera from the head of Zeus, full-blown into perfection; long years of patient toil in the perfecting of their art must lie behind them; and this artistic ability was carried on by the Magdalenian peoples in their wonderful carvings in bone and stone till it dies away in the Azylian Period on the confines of the Neolithic Age.

Let us examine some of these drawings more carefully, and as we do so I cannot do better than refer to the Presidential Address of Sir Arthur Evans before the British Association at Newcastle in 1916, where is to be found the most concise summary of the artistic achievements of man during these periods.

'In their most developed stage', he says, 'as illustrated by the bulk of the figures in the Cave of Altamira itself', and others in France and Spain, 'these primeval frescoes display not only a consummate mastery of natural design, but an extraordinary technical resource.... In single animals the tints [composed of red and yellow ochre and charcoal] are varied from black to dark and ruddy brown or brilliant orange, and so by fine gradations to paler nuances.... Outlines and details are brought out by white incised lines, and the artists availed themselves with great skill of the reliefs afforded by convexities of the rock surface. But the greatest marvel of all', he continues, 'is that such polychrome masterpieces as the bisons, standing and couchant, or with limbs huddled together, of the Altamira Cave, were executed on the ceilings of inner vaults and galleries where the light of day has never penetrated.' As I have said elsewhere,[1] the same feeling of wonder assails those who, like the present writer, have visited the Tombs of the Kings in the hills on the opposite side of the Nile to Luxor in Egypt; in these, as all travellers know, are to be seen galleries and chambers to which 'the light of day

[1] *The Hibbert Journal*, Jan. 1918, p. 301.

has never penetrated ', in which beautiful frescoes on walls and ceilings, executed, of course, in the conventional Egyptian style, are seen to-day in the glare of the electric light, and in both cases the problem as to the means by which the works were carried out is the same, and seems impossible of solution; the only certain fact is that no appearance of smoke from torches or other illuminants mars the beauty of the paintings. One further interesting suggestion we may note which has regard to the question when man began to tame some of the animals in the midst of which he found himself living: hitherto it has been usual to assign this great advance in culture to the Neolithic Age, and it has been supposed that the women had the larger share in the taming process, but there now seems reason to believe that the domestication of animals may have been accomplished as early as Palaeolithic times. In his Presidential Address before the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1917 [1] Sir Hercules Read said on this point: ' A remarkable feature of Cave Art is that dead animals are very rare. They are grazing, or resting, or walking in groups or herds, while the artist has seized every point that emphasizes the vitality and live character of the beast. . . . Indeed, Mr. Pocock, F.R.S., in an article in *The Field* in 1913, considers a cow from the cavern of Bruniquel to be polled, and notes that other persons have believed it to be standing to be milked.'

But be this as it may, when he speaks of the artistic ability displayed in the drawings he says: ' I fear that words can be of but little avail. A long and sympathetic study has led me to believe that it is hard to use any but superlative terms in referring to them. . . . The relation of Cave-man to his animal models was refined and intensified by a superhuman understanding of every attitude and every detail of the beast to be represented, and such was his competence as an artist that he often performed marvels in the subtle indication of characteristic features. . . . I seriously question whether the most competent artist of our day, if provided with only the materials possessed by the Cave-man, could surpass, even if he could equal in all ways, the drawings of that distant time.' This is high testimony, and it is a pity that the facts of this wonderful phase of art are not more generally known.

[1] *J. R. A. I.*, vol. xlviii, pp. 13, 15.

When the Neolithic people, probably the vanguard of the great Aryan migration, driven from Siberia by the advancing cold in that region to seek a warmer climate, arrived in Europe, many millennia later, they possessed no artistic ability, although some drawings of theirs exist which are more like the first efforts of children than anything else. The whole realm of art had to be reconquered from the beginning.

Travelling again to Australia, we shall find there among the Arunta (a people of the present day, still in the Neolithic stage of culture) rude drawings—not indeed to be compared with the Palaeolithic art of Europe—and signs inscribed on the walls of secret recesses in the hills. These recesses are called *Ertnatulunga*, as stated in Chapter IV, and are the store-houses sacred to the totemic groups of which native society is composed, which no woman or child may see, and men only after they have passed, on attaining puberty, through the *Intichiuma*, or initiation ceremonies of the group. All round are the *Oknanikilla*, or local totem centres, each centre being sacred to one totem group. Ask them the meaning of the drawings on the walls of the *ertnatulunga*, and they will tell you they are connected with the totemic ceremonies of the tribes, those sacred acts which are performed to promote the increase of the totem species in each case.[1]

Let us now turn to the eighth chapter of the Book of Ezekiel; in it we read how 'in the sixth year, in the sixth month, in the fifth day of the month,' that is, of the Captivity, the prophet was sitting in his house with the elders of Judah before him, when the hand of the Lord GOD fell upon him. He then describes how the form of a hand took him by a lock of his head, and, lifting him up between the earth and the heaven, brought him in the visions of God to Jerusalem, 'to the door of the inner gate that looketh toward the north; where was the seat of the image of jealousy, which provoketh to jealousy'. There he sees various abominations committed, but a voice says to him: 'Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations.' Then follows the crucial passage: 'He brought me to the door of the court; and when I looked, behold a hole in the wall. Then said he unto me, Son of man, dig now in the wall: and when I had digged in

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 278 ff., *et pass.*

the wall, behold a door.' He is bidden to go in, whereupon he tells us: 'I went in and saw; and behold every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts, and all the doll-images of the house of Israel, portrayed upon the wall round about. And there stood before them seventy men of the ancients of the house of Israel, and in the midst of them stood Jaazaniah, the son of Shaphan, with every man his censer in his hand; and a thick cloud of incense went up. Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? For they say, The Lord seeth us not; the Lord hath forsaken the land.'

Is not this a wonderfully striking and suggestive story—the more so when we take it in connexion with what we have seen to be the practice of primitive man in the past and in the present?

We note how carefully the prophet fixes the date: it is about the year 590 B.C.; and the locality: it is on the north, or sacred side of the temple; and he knows these ancients—they had been familiar to him, as a young priest, before he had been led captive—and he recognizes the man who is acting as their chief officiant, Jaazaniah the son of Shaphan. The image of Jealousy, which he first sees, was probably a statue of Astarte, to whom, as the Queen of Heaven, Jeremiah had seen the women of Jerusalem baking and offering cakes; but this is only, as it were, a modern type of religion, to which at all times the people had been prone; in the time of decadence and misery produced by foreign war, defeat, and captivity, the people had betaken themselves to yet greater abominations, to rites and ceremonies which had their origin in the long-forgotten past. We hear nothing of these secret rites during all the history of pre-exilic times; they hid their heads. The only reference to them, as showing that they were there, awaiting an opportunity to come forth, is that in the Book of Deuteronomy which I mentioned at the outset, viz. Deut. iv. 14–19, dating from about the year 620 B.C., the time of the great reformation carried out under King Josiah. In that passage we have evidence that these practices were in existence and needed to be sternly repressed, for the Lawgiver says: 'Lest ye corrupt yourselves, and make you a

graven image . . . the likeness of any beast that is on the earth, the likeness of any winged fowl that flieth in the air, the likeness of any thing that creepeth on the ground, the likeness of any fish that is in the waters beneath the earth,' and then proceeds to prohibit the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, which only arose in Israel during the reign of King Ahaz.

But now, in this age of decadence, it is the most primitive cults that reappear: in Ezekiel's picture we have them all, and so vivid is it that we can almost see them ourselves: there on the walls of that sacred and secret chamber are portrayed ' every form of creeping things, and abominable beasts ', that is, beasts reckoned ' unclean ' in the lists in Leviticus and Deuteronomy, and reckoned so for the very reason that they had been held sacred by the old totem clans in primitive times, ' and the doll-images of the house of Israel ', the very things that call to our minds the curious steatopygous images of females from the Cave of Brassempouy and elsewhere.[1] Before these pictures the ancients of Israel are performing sacred rites, derived from the old days of Totemism, with the idea that by their magic they could avert the calamities impending, and restore prosperity to Israel.

Sir J. G. Frazer[2] distinctly associates the drawings in the Palaeolithic caves of France and Spain and those in the *ertna-tulunga* of the Arunta tribe in central Australia, the discovery of which by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen made such a sensation in anthropological circles in 1899, with these secret rites described by Ezekiel, and notes the suggestion which has been made in some quarters that hieroglyphs possibly originated ' in representations of edible animals and plants '—Australian natives eat any kind of ' creeping thing ', when they can get it—' which had long been in use for the purpose of magically multiplying the species '.

The fact that the elders of Israel, in Ezekiel's vision, are described as performing their rites in secret—' in the dark '—lends

[1] I have seen, as stated in Chapter V, the same curious, and as I believe steatopygous, figurines in the museum at Valetta, Malta, from an ancient Necropolis. See *Journal British Archaeological Association*, vol. xxi, N.S., pp. 194 ff., 1915.

[2] In his *Golden Bough*, third edition, Part 1, The Magic Art, vol. 1, p. 87 *n.*

force to Professor Toy's remark[1] that 'the connexion suggests something mysterious, mystic cults, secret services to which only the initiated were admitted'; and to the same effect the late Professor Robertson Smith[2] says: 'Here, therefore, we have a clear case of the re-emergence into the light of day of a cult of the most primitive totem type, which . . . must have been kept alive in obscure circles of private or local superstition, and sprang up again on the ruins of the national faith.' Robertson Smith still regarded Totemism as a sort of religion, and so speaks of 'cults of totem type'; what are really intended are mystic rites performed in relation to the totem, as we have seen. They are in fact mysteries, like the Eleusinian mysteries in Greece, or like the sacraments of the Christian Church, called in Greek *μυστήρια* (only the initiated, i.e. the baptized, being admitted to the sacred feast of Bread and Wine, which are themselves to the believer the very Body and Blood of Christ); and all alike, purified and refined as they may be, find their living significance and their mystic power only in ideas derived from the animism and totemism of primitive man. So that these 'ancients of Israel' of Ezekiel's vision, members, all of them, of a mystic guild with their easily recognized mystagogue at their head, are engaged in carrying out rites which go back to the earliest notions of primitive man. The fact that the rites involved the use of 'censers' points to the more advanced stage of culture they had reached.

We need not be surprised: in every age, under similar circumstances, man is always and everywhere found to be the same, and 'superstitions', as we call them, always revive in time of stress. During the outbreak of the plague at Athens Thucydides describes the same phenomena; so does Defoe during the Great Plague of London in 1666; and we need only refer to the undoubted recrudescence of superstition in our own time, under the forms of Spiritualism, or spiritism, and other strange 'cults', to which even learned scientific professors like Sir Oliver Lodge, and literary men like Sir A. Conan Doyle, succumbed through the stress of the Great War, and the desire for some comfort

[1] *Polychrome Bible, Ezekiel*, p. 111, sometimes referred to as *SBOT.*, i.e. *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*, edited by Professor Paul Haupt.

[2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 357.

other than religion can afford under the loss of the best and noblest of our manhood which it entailed.

If this is so in our own more enlightened age can we wonder when we see it in the past? The force of hereditary instincts is still strong, and man needs something stronger than mere intellectual enlightenment or scientific knowledge to enable him to rise superior to the buffets of ill fortune: he needs, in a word, the power of true religion and the grace of God to keep him straight, and faithful to the higher level of culture to which, after many painful generations, we have attained.

CHAPTER VII

SURVIVALS OF PRIMITIVE CULTS IN THE OLD TESTAMENT

II

IN the last chapter we confined our study to a consideration of the striking passage in Ezekiel viii, which we compared with the prohibitions contained in the Law promulgated during the Reformation effected under Josiah, as recorded in Deuteronomy iv. 14–17; in this chapter we are to consider two similarly striking passages from the Book of Isaiah, bearing on the same mystic rites, which must be compared with the lists of animal foods allowed and forbidden in Israel; these are found in the two great recensions of the Law: (1) that, also propounded at the time of the Reformation under Josiah, in Deuteronomy xiv. 3–8, (2) that contained in the post-exilic code, Leviticus xi. 2–8.

The passages in Isaiah are found in chapters lxv. 2–7 inclusive, and lxvi. 3 and 17. According to the late Professor Cheyne these passages date respectively from the years 450 and 432 B.C. approximately. A century and a half has passed since Ezekiel had his vision of the 'abominations' that were being enacted in the temple at Jerusalem; the times have changed, but the people have not changed; and the prophet describes certain rites that are actually being performed by some of those who have returned from the Exile which are wholly at variance with the Law which ought to be observed by the people whom God has set apart for Himself.

The circumstances of the times are described in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah: the remnant of Israel has been restored to its own land; they have been intermarrying with the ' people of the land ', i.e. the remnant who were left behind, and those who had been settled there at the time of the conquest by the Babylonians, as the Assyrians had settled immigrants from Armenia and elsewhere, in northern Israel, and had been learning their customs, which were very similar to many that survived among themselves, more perhaps in the shape of inchoate memories and what is now called ' folk-lore ' than in any orga-

nized form of ritual; and so, though Jerusalem has been rebuilt and the Temple once more restored for the worship of a people that is henceforth to be rather a ' church ' than a nation, a vast number of ideas derived from the antiquity of their race are still seething in the minds of the mass of the people. And further, the descendants of the peoples introduced into northern Israel, to be known hereafter as Samaritans, come forward and wish to be reckoned as on a par with them and to share in all the rights and privileges which belong to them as the chosen people of God. On the stern insistence of Ezra and Nehemiah in refusing to recognize them as such they have become the bitter foes of the returned exiles, who in their weak and impoverished condition are in no position to bid them defiance. Hence the animosity which arose between the Jews and the Samaritans, which continued through the centuries, so that even in Our Lord's day the woman of Samaria could affirm, as an undoubted truth, that ' the Jews have no dealings with the Samaritans '.

Between the dates of the two passages in Isaiah which form our present study, i.e. about the year 440 B.C., the Samaritans had built their rival temple on Mount Gerizim, and founded their system, which consisted in the acceptance of the Pentateuch, while rejecting all the other canonical books of the Jews; a community of Samaritans remains in the neighbourhood of Mount Gerizim to the present day, and still cherishes its ancient faith.

But to go back to the middle of the fifth century B.C.; Ezra and Nehemiah are struggling to carry out their reforms, and the Pentateuch has been published in its latest recension, as it was edited by the priests during the Exile.

Meanwhile the mixed population of the land are ready to resuscitate old superstitions, and in the confusion of the times ancient and long-forgotten rites are being revived. These resemble, though in their details they differ from, those described by Ezekiel; in his vision the prophet had seen unclean creatures and various ' abominations ' portrayed on the walls of a secret chamber in the Temple, and acts of worship and incense offered to them; in the present case we have a description of certain rites actually carried out in connexion with similar unclean creatures and ' abominations '.

It is time that we remind ourselves in what it is that the rites under consideration in this chapter consist. We will take the latest translation—that of Dr. Cheyne, in his edition of Isaiah in Haupt's *Polychrome Bible*. In the first passage, Isa. lxv. 2–7, the prophet represents God as saying: 'I have spread out my hands all the day to unruly and disobedient people, who follow the way' (i.e. the mode of worship) 'which is not good, after their own devices; the people who vex me to my face continually, who sacrifice in gardens, and burn incense upon bricks; who tarry in graves, and lodge in secret places; who eat swine's flesh, and in whose vessels is broth of unclean meats; who say: Keep by thyself, come not too near me, for else I shall sanctify thee. At such things there is a smoke in my nostrils, a fire that burns continually. Behold, it is recorded before me; I will not keep silence, except I have requited their iniquities, and the iniquities of their fathers together, says JHVH, who burned incense upon the mountains, and dishonoured me upon the hills.' And in the other passage, in reference to rites of the same kind, Isaiah lxvi. 3, 17, God is represented as saying: 'He who slaughters an ox, but also slays a man; he who sacrifices a sheep, but also strangles a dog; he who brings an oblation, but also pours out swine's blood; he who burns incense, but also blesses an idol; as these have chosen their own ways, and their soul has pleasure in their abominations, so will I choose troubles that will harass them. . . . Those who consecrate and purify themselves for the gardens, the one consecrating the other on the tip of the ear, who eat swine's flesh, and the swarming creatures, and mice, together shall they come to an end, says JHVH.'

It will be seen at once that the rites here described all refer to the same kind of worship, a worship superstitious in the highest degree, and in the truest sense of the word; that is to say, they have 'remained over' from the very earliest and most primitive ideas of the race, they spring from the lowest layers of the social strata, they are like fossils in the rocks that tell of bygone forms of life; in order to understand them at all the commentator must call in the help of the anthropologist. It is curious, indeed, to see how the old, and even some modern, commentators try to explain them, and to arrive at some understanding as to why just such rites should have suddenly sprung

to light and come to the surface in the time of Isaiah or at any later period.[1]

It is only now beginning to be understood how widely spread the system of totemism, with its accompanying social arrangements, has been among mankind, so much so that, notwithstanding Sir J. G. Frazer's *caveat* on the point, it is probable that there is no race of men that has not passed through a period of totemism in the course of its upward progress from savagery through barbarism to civilization: it was certainly the case among the Semites, of whom the Hebrews were a younger and comparatively modern branch; we may see it surviving among the American Indians in its personal rather than in its social aspect to the present day; in many parts of West and Central and East Africa, and among the primitive peoples of India and the Far East, it survives in a greater or less degree in its social aspect; but if we would see it in its most primitive form, as something upon which all the social arrangements of the people depend, we must travel once more to Australia, and there, among peoples whose customs were unknown to science till within the last thirty years, we shall find it in full force, regulating all the details of social life; though even there we have evidence of a certain advance and evolution, or progress, of ideas, so that it is impossible to say that we have touched the very lowest layer of all—and it is improbable that we ever shall do so. The natives of Australia give us the nearest approach to the most primitive ideas of the human race that we shall in all probability ever reach: let us then trim our sails and journey to Australia again.

'Nowhere', says Sir J. G. Frazer, 'is the theory of sympathetic magic more systematically carried into practice for the maintenance of the food supply than in the barren regions of Central Australia. Here the tribes are divided into a number of

[1] The late Professor W. Robertson Smith was the first to gain an inkling as to the true bearing of the facts, and subsequent study of the customs of primitive peoples in our own day, unknown to him, has only gone to show the solid character of the foundation laid by him. He connected the rites with Totemism, and in the first edition of *The Religion of the Semites* treated the subject as though Totemism itself were still a living force among the people; in later editions he was led to modify this hypothesis, and to recognize them as relics of a totemistic system in the distant past, which survived as mystic rites in the consciousness of the people, just as we saw was the case with regard to the rites described by Ezekiel.

totem clans, each of which is charged with the duty of propagating and multiplying their totem for the good of the community by means of magical ceremonies and incantations. The great majority of the totems are edible animals and plants, and the general result supposed to be accomplished by these magical totemic ceremonies or *intichiuma*, as the Arunta call them, is that of supplying the tribe with food and other necessaries.' [1]

For example: ' The men of the kangaroo totem in the Arunta tribe perform ceremonies for the multiplication of kangaroos at a certain rocky ledge, which, in the opinion of the natives, is full of the spirits of kangaroos ready to go forth and inhabit kangaroo bodies. A little higher up on the hillside are two blocks of stone, which represent a male and female kangaroo respectively. At the ceremony these two blocks are rubbed with a stone by two men. Then the rocky ledge below is decorated with alternate vertical stripes of red and white, to indicate the red fur and white bones of the kangaroo. After that a number of young men sit on the ledge, open veins in their arms, and allow the blood to spurtle over the edge of the rock on which they are seated. This pouring out of the blood of the kangaroo men on the rock is thought to drive out the spirits of the kangaroos in all directions, and so to increase the numbers of the animals. While it is taking place, the other men sit below watching the performers and singing songs which refer to the expected increase of kangaroos.' [2] This will suffice for an illustration of this particular ceremony; those of other totem clans are very much of the same kind. As regards the kangaroo spirits awaiting rebirth, this belief is exactly the same as that of these tribes in respect to themselves. Every Arunta is a reincarnation of those who have preceded him in this earthly life; that is to say, the spirits of those who die are always awaiting rebirth; those of the different totems collect beside their own *churinga nanja*, i.e. a tree or stone assigned to that particular totem, and any woman passing by is liable to be entered by one of the spirits, and the child to which she will presently give birth will belong to the totem of the locality where it was conceived; when the child is born the woman's husband has to hunt for and find the *churinga ilkinia* of the child—a long

[1] Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Part I, The Magic Art, i, p. 85.
[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, pp. 86, 87.

stone or piece of wood adorned with the marks denoting the particular totem—and this is carefully deposited in the *ertnatulunga* with the other *churinga* of the tribe. No woman or uninitiated boy may ever behold these sacred objects; they are shown to the boys after initiation. It must be observed here that the Arunta, in common with the other Australian tribes who hold the same belief in reincarnation, are totally ignorant of the meaning of the union of the sexes in marriage; this union only prepares the woman for the entry of the spirit-child at the appointed time. The belief in regard to the totems is that in a time called the Alcheringa their ancestors existed in the guise of kangaroos, emus, witchetty grubs, plum trees, or whatever the totem is, and every Arunta is, as a matter of fact, the reincarnation of an ancestor who lived in the Alcheringa time. Further evidences of their beliefs may be seen in the initiation ceremonies, which we shall now briefly refer to.[1]

These vary in the different tribes, but one unvarying accompaniment of all the ceremonies consists in the effusion of blood, sometimes over the graves or the tree to which a corpse has been consigned, and in the burial, either in the ground or in a tree, of the severed portion of the body of the initiate. The purpose of this practice is, according to a probable conjecture of Sir J. G. Frazer, that the blood or the severed portion of the person may 'serve as a link between two successive incarnations by preparing for the novice a new body to house his spirit when its present tabernacle shall have been worn out'. Now just as the *intichiuma* rites of the Arunta and other Australian tribes are intended to secure the reimbodiment of the spirits of edible animals and plants, so their initiatory rites may perhaps be regarded as designed mainly to secure the reincarnation of human souls. All the tribes on the Gulf of Carpentaria eat their dead, or did so till quite recently, and the ceremonies and traditions of the Arunta indicate that their ancestors also ate the bodies of their fellow

[1] The central rite in these ceremonies is circumcision, accompanied in these tribes by the barbarous and still more painful rite of *subincision*. Andrew Lang, discussing this subject, once remarked, 'Wanted, a missionary', and well might he say so! But it is good for the study of 'Man' that such customs should have been described by competent observers like Spencer and Gillen before they die out, as they will assuredly do in the near future.

tribesmen. Thus the Wild Dog clan of the Arunta has many traditions that their ancestors killed and ate Wild Dog men and women. In that more or less remote time there was no sharp line of distinction drawn between a man and his totem. ' In the Alcheringa ', according to their traditions, ' lived ancestors who, in the native mind, are so intimately associated with the animals or plants the names of which they bear that an Alcheringa man of, say, the kangaroo totem may sometimes be spoken of as a man-kangaroo or a kangaroo-man. The identity of the human individual is often sunk in that of the animal or plant from which he is supposed to have originated,' and if measures were taken to resuscitate both, it may well have been primarily in order that both might be eaten again! The system was as thoroughly practical in its aim as that of the grazier or the market-gardener among ourselves, only the means it took to compass its ends were mistaken: that is to say, it can in no sense in its origin be called a religion. In short, totemism as it exists at present among the rude natives of Central Australia appears to be mainly a crude, almost childlike, attempt to satisfy the primary wants of man, but to say so is not to affirm that this has been the purpose, and the only purpose, of Australian totemism from the beginning; that beginning lies far behind us in the past.

Many corresponding illustrations might be adduced from the customs of other peoples still in the condition of savagery or barbarism to-day, and from the relics of such a state of culture which survive in the guise of folk-lore in the traditions and customs of the civilized peoples, did our space permit; it is time we returned to a consideration of the bearing of these primitive customs and traditions upon the immediate subject before us in this chapter.

When the prophet wrote, totemism as a living force had long been extinct among the Semitic peoples—but the mystic rites derived from it still survived. In Ezekiel's vision we saw mystic rites performed and incense offered before the representations of such ' unclean ' animals and ' abominations ' portrayed on the walls of a secret chamber in the temple at Jerusalem; here we see actual ceremonies performed consisting in the slaughter of such unclean beasts as the dog, the mouse, and swine, as well as those more usually associated with sacrifice, as the ox and the

sheep, together with an allusion to human sacrifice, and accompanied by secret rites performed in gardens and beside graves; these latter are the proper correlatives of one another, for it was in gardens that graves were usually to be found, and the custom continued to quite late times, for do we not find Our Lord buried in ' a garden wherein was a grave '?

Originally, such rites would have been performed for a corresponding purpose to that for which they are performed in Australia to-day; the mouse, the dog, the swine, and other 'abominations', together with the ox and the sheep, would have been the totems of the various clans, and the rites would be performed to ensure the increase of the totem animal; but now they are merely the badges respectively of the mystic guilds, and the rites are celebrated, like our May-day or Midsummer or Christmas customs, in accordance with tradition and with some idea of promoting the well-being of the participants.

According to the Deuteronomic and Priestly codes the dog, the mouse, the swine, creeping things and other abominations are to be counted ' unclean ' for the very reason that they were held sacred by these followers of tradition, though they had probably forgotten their old totemic significance—but not the ox and the sheep, because they were useful animals serviceable to peoples in the pastoral and agricultural stages of culture, both when alive and in death. We are not to suppose that these mystic guilds actually indulged in human sacrifice, but the tradition of such sacrifices survived, and he that slaughtered an ox was ' as though ' he slew a man: the principle of substitution was already in force. As an accompaniment of these rites, necromancy was, no doubt, at this period performed at the graves, such as we find carried on to the present day among the native tribes on the Niger, in New Guinea, and many other parts; for witchcraft has ever been, and is still, an essential weapon in the armoury of magic.

The ' secret places ' in which the rites were carried on remind us of the *ertnatulunga* of the Arunta, and no doubt, as with them, none but those initiated into the particular guild were permitted to enter their recesses, or to participate in the ceremonies to which they were consecrated.

As initiated members of these mystic guilds the participants

were proud of their privileges and jealous lest any uninitiated person should dare to intrude; for by the very fact of their initiation and of their participation in the rites they were the possessors of a mystic influence which would infect those with whom they might come in contact, and render them not only unfitted to carry on the ordinary business of life, but might actually cause them grievous bodily or spiritual harm; for what was beneficial to the initiated would be the very reverse to those outside. Therefore, they warn them: ' Come not too near me, for else I shall sanctify thee ', that is, I shall infect thee with the magic influence with which I am imbued. This magic influence is a well-known element in primitive thought: among the Polynesians it is called *mana*, among the Iroquois it is called *orenda*; but the principle is universal, and is connected with the primitive idea of *tabu*: what is enjoined upon the initiated is taboo to those outside[1]; hence the ' unclean ' animals of the Jews were so, just because they were ' sacred ' to the members of the mystic guilds —the successors, though perhaps unconsciously, of the old totemic clans. Thus these early Pharisees were acting in precisely the same spirit as that which characterized the Pharisees of Our Lord's day—and may we not say, the same spirit as that which is seen among some communicants, for example, among ourselves.

Against all such practices as those described here the prophets never cease to inveigh with all their power, and the sacred things of these mystic guilds, the relics of ancient totemism, become themselves unclean, taboo, prohibited: they are, as Yahweh says, ' a smoke in my nostrils '.

We must not pursue the subject farther; if we have thrown any light upon a curious and interesting phase in the religious development of Israel it will be enough. We have at least exemplified the truth of the late Dr. Driver's statement[2] that ' the general result of the archaeological and anthropological researches of the past half-century has been to take the Hebrews out of the isolated position which, as a nation, they seemed previously to hold . . . Their beliefs . . . their social usages . . . their religious institutions, can no longer be viewed, as was once possible, as

[1] See Chapter I.

[2] *Authority and Archaeology*, London, 1899, pp. 6ff.

differing in kind from those of other nations, and determined in every feature by a direct revelation from Heaven; all, it is now known, have substantial analogies among other peoples.'

NOTE. We have dealt with generals rather than particulars in the foregoing study, illustrating especially the totemic character of the rites described by the prophet; one or two remarks may perhaps be allowed as to details. The subject of worship upon the mountains—that of those who 'burned incense upon the mountains and dishonoured me upon the hills'—would require a treatise to itself; we may briefly refer to the custom described as 'the one consecrating the other on the tip of the ear', i.e. that the sacred blood was applied to the extremities of the body, which were most in danger of desecration, to represent the renewal of the blood-bond between the slain beast, as the representative in this age of the god, and the offerer. This, again, we find to be of universal prevalence as part of the system of totemism and taboo; for example, 'the men of a certain district in Borneo, fearing to look upon a European traveller lest he should make them ill, warned their wives and children not to go near him. Those who could not restrain their curiosity killed fowls to appease the evil spirit and smeared themselves with the blood'; again, at Kilema in eastern Africa, when a stranger arrives, a medicine is made out of a certain plant or a tree fetched from a distance, mixed with the blood of a sheep or a goat; with this mixture the stranger is besmeared or besprinkled. Again, 'When the Kayans or Bahaus of central Borneo have shot one of the dreaded Bornean panthers, they are very anxious about the safety of their souls, for they think that the soul of a panther is almost more powerful than their own. Hence they step eight times over the carcass of the dead beast reciting the spell, "Panther, thy soul under my soul". On returning home they smear themselves, their dogs, and their weapons with the blood of fowls in order to calm their souls and hinder them from fleeing away; for being themselves fond of the flesh of fowls they ascribe the same taste to their souls.' Furthermore, the ancient Scythians, the Mexicans at the time of the discovery of America, and many other races had customs in which mourners drew blood from their ears and sprinkled it over the grave as an offering in propitiation to the soul of the dead. In connexion with the taboos placed upon certain animal foods in the Deuteronomic and Levitical legislation we may say finally, with Sir J. G. Frazer: 'To judge by the legislation of the Pentateuch the ancient Semites appear to have passed through a course of moral evolution not unlike that which we can still detect

in process among [primitive races in our own day, such, for example, as] the Esquimaux of Baffin Land. Some of the old laws of Israel are clearly savage taboos of a familiar type thinly disguised as commands of the deity. This disguise is indeed a good deal more perfect in Palestine than in Baffin Land, but in substance it is the same. Among the Esquimaux [for example] it is the will of Sedna; among the Israelites it is the will of Jehovah.' Frazer's note here is interesting. It is as follows: 'The similarity of some of the Mosaic laws to savage customs has struck most Europeans who have acquired an intimate knowledge of the savage and his ways.' This is the theme of this book.[1]

[1] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part ii, Taboo, p. 219.

CHAPTER VIII

WOMEN'S FASHIONS IN JERUSALEM *c.* 735 B.C.

Isa. iii. 16–24.

I HAVE given the above title to my subject because, in spite of some critics, I am inclined to take it as part of a genuine prophecy of Isaiah. The critics, for example the late Professor Cheyne, argue that the list of articles in vv. 18–23 break the connexion between vv. 17 and 24 which otherwise run on smoothly from one to the other, i.e. 'The Lord will make bare the crown of the head of the daughters of Zion . . . and it shall come to pass: instead of perfume there shall be rottenness . . . and instead of artificial curls baldness,' &c. So they propose to assign the 'list' to a post-exilic editor, or even to a Talmudic date. To me this seems somewhat hypercritical, and although it is no doubt true that many of the articles mentioned which bear a magical significance continued in use to a late period, to me the passage seems to form a connected whole, and bears the stamp of the fiery invective of the great prophet himself.

It was in the reign of Ahaz, both a feeble and a wicked prince. To all outward appearance the condition of Judah was most prosperous; but side by side with increasing trade and wealth there was wanton luxury, especially among the women, together with much increased idolatry and superstition; all this Isaiah depicts in vivid terms at the beginning of the previous chapter. In the passage under our consideration in this study he describes the great ladies of the court going about with mincing gait, decked out in finery; the base influence of the harem is the dominant power as so often in oriental courts; the images of strange gods are everywhere to be seen, and the city has all the appearance of a luxurious heathen town. But all this prosperity with its attendant wickedness was destined to disappear; Yahweh was about to arise and shake terribly the earth. So the prophet proclaims the wrath of Yahweh against the princes and elders, the prophets and magicians of Judah, or, as we should say, against the politicians and the literati, the

journalists and preachers, of his day; for a day was coming when the rulers of Judah would be like children, too feeble to control the state. And then, like another Father Bernard Vaughan, he launches out into fierce denunciation of the outrageous conduct and fashions of the ladies of the capital which lends a tinge of deepest feeling even to what might otherwise appear the dry details of an inventory of ladies' clothes and ornaments! Just as the fiery modern preacher every now and then gave himself a free rein in denouncing the feminine fashions and conduct of London society to-day, and included in his denunciations not only the fashionable low necks and bare backs and short skirts but also the prevalent rage for mascots and other relics of superstition in which the modern lady indulges, so Isaiah describes, and in describing denounces, not merely the fashionable dress but also the survivals of magical beliefs to which many of the ornaments of the ladies of his day bear witness.

And how modern, after all, the picture is! In many respects, *mutatis mutandis*, it might be a picture of the present fashionable world, instead of a description of the court of Ahaz and of the society of that far-off time.

There are some interesting divergencies between the original Hebrew and the Septuagint and Vulgate versions, and these are reflected in the English Authorized and Revised Versions, but it is easy to visualize the picture as a whole; we see the great lady arrayed in her rich dress and mantle and shawl, beneath which she wears a linen vest woven of yarn from Egypt; on her head she has a turban and over it a large veil; her hair is done up in a luxuriant coil; from head to foot she sparkles with glittering jewels—but let us give the rest of the description in the prophet's own words: he speaks (and we give the English of Professor Cheyne as being the nearest to the Hebrew) of ' the finery of the anklets, and the little suns and moons; the ear-drops and the arm-chains and the long veils; the diadems, the step-chains, the girdles, the perfume-boxes, and the amulets; the signet-rings and the nose-rings; the mirrors and the purse-bags'. And with all this they display a haughty mien, ' and walk with neck thrown back and leering eyes, tripping along as they go, and making a chime with their ankles '. Is it not a wonderfully graphic picture, and one that the prophet must

often have seen, for he was himself a prince and a member of the court circle?

It is not my purpose to discuss any further the general outline or the details of the picture; there are four of the ornaments mentioned, the significance of which escapes the notice of the ordinary reader, and yet which are of the greatest interest to the student of anthropology and folk-lore: the commentators mostly slur them over or leave them unexplained. These are those which the A.V. translates, and here the R.V. corresponds—the translators evidently not knowing what to make of the Hebrew—'cauls', and in the margin, 'networks'; A.V. 'round tires like the moon', R.V. 'crescents'; A.V. 'tablets', R.V. 'perfume-boxes'; and A.V. 'ear-rings', which is quite off the mark, R.V. 'amulets', which is a good equivalent for the Heb. *l'khashim*, which means in the first place 'whisperings', then soft murmuring sounds as in serpent-charming, and so comes to mean the concrete object, charm or amulet, i.e. 'charmed things'.[1]

Here then we have a special article of jewellery singled out as being a 'charmed thing', amulet or mascot; what it might be was probably a matter of arbitrary choice, the tooth or claw of a lion or other animal, a lock of hair, a shell, or indeed anything over which a 'charm' had been uttered; but originally it would appear, from a study of primitive psychology, that all jewellery or ornaments worn on the person, from the shells and beads of savages to the exquisite jewellery of prehistoric and historic Egypt, and female adornments of all kinds in all ages, were in the nature of amulets or charms, and bore a magical significance. Thus the meaning of jewellery is on a par with that of all primitive art in general; in Chapter V, I have enlarged upon this thesis as it concerns the pictographic art of primitive peoples, and we saw that whatever the aesthetic pleasure which we may suppose was derived from the contemplation of their drawings and sculptures by the Aurignacian and Magdalenian peoples, although many of these were executed in the darkest recesses of inaccessible caves and could only be seen by the feeble flicker of a lamp of clay, they served in reality most practical magical ends, viz. the increase of the food supply by means of the totemic ceremonies of the clans. Exactly in the same way the late Sir

[1] See article on 'Charms' (Hebrew), *Encycl. Rel. and Ethics*, iii. 440 *c*.

William Ridgeway showed, in a valuable paper which he read at the meeting of the British Association at Southport in 1903, that the origin of jewellery is to be found in magic, and for a similar, though not identical, purpose: his words are, in formulating his conclusion: ' It is thus clear that the use of all the objects still employed in modern jewellery has primarily arisen from the magical powers attributed to them, by which they were thought to protect the wearer.' [1]

If this applies originally to all jewellery and ornaments, of which we have so elaborate and complete a list in the passage before us, and of which we have so many beautiful specimens from Egyptian tombs, and indeed from graves of all periods from Neolithic and Bronze Age burials to those of our own Anglo-Saxon ancestors, it is peculiarly applicable to the four special objects noted above.[2]

The ' little suns ' and ' little moons ' and ' snake-charmed amulets ' are found in every age and among all peoples; the ' little suns ' were probably small circular disks of gold, of which we find examples in prehistoric Egypt, and of which the most magnificent examples are the great golden disks representing the sun in Peruvian temples; the ' little moons ' were crescent-shaped, and belong to the vast cycle of folk-lore attached to the moon; the ' snake-charmed amulets ' were probably necklets or bangles of twisted gold in the shape of serpents, like the ' torques ' found in Celtic graves, of which there are so many beautiful examples in the Museum of Antiquities in Dublin: these torques were worn by Celtic warriors either round the neck or as armlets or bangles, according to size, and were often most perfect samples of the art of the goldsmith, such as can hardly be equalled by the modern artist; the same thing is true of the gold jewellery in the Egyptian tombs, not only of the later dynasties but as far back as the Fourth Dynasty, and even of much of the actually prehistoric jewellery. These anguiform ornaments, having besides had the snake charm whispered over them by the accredited magician, were no doubt of special value

[1] *British Association Report*, 1903, p. 816.

[2] For Anglo-Saxon examples see Baldwin Brown, *The Arts in Early England*, vols. iii and iv, The Pagan Period; for Neolithic and Bronze Age examples see the literature of the subject.

as a protection against all serpentine wiles, as also against serpents' and all other kinds of venom.[1]

And now we arrive at the most fascinating item in our list: to wit, those particular articles of the ladies' adornment which seem to have so baffled the translators of King James's time that in default of any better suggestion they could only equate them with 'tablets', without attempting to specify what kind of tablets, whether writing or other, they were, and of which they inserted the literal translation in the margin, i.e. 'Houses of the Soul'. These 'houses of the soul' were understood by St. Jerome to mean scent-bottles, and so we have 'olfactoriola', literally 'little scent-bottles', in the Vulgate; and this translation, or 'perfume-boxes', is that adopted in the Revised Version and by all modern commentators. But the question immediately arises: Whence the origin of the Hebrew phrase? What is the connexion between 'houses of the soul' and perfume-boxes? What is the association of ideas? None of the commentators can tell us. It lies in the region of primitive thought, i.e. in the doctrine of the 'external soul'.

This is one of the most curious and widespread beliefs of primitive man, and it consists in the notion that the soul is a concrete and separable personality, so to say, though invisible and immaterial, and that it can be kept safe, or injured, apart from the individual to whom it belongs. And yet from their own point of view it is a belief not incomprehensible nor to be surprised at. For, like other primitive beliefs, it has its basis in Animism, and belongs to the cycle of ideas in which every object, animate and inanimate alike, is supposed to be possessed of a soul or souls, each of them being charged with a secret and most powerful influence, known to anthropologists, from the Polynesian word used to designate this mystic influence or power, under the now familiar name of *mana*.[2] This *mana* is a peculiar property of the soul inhering in any object, and it can be exercised either for good or ill; it applies to human souls; for example, the West African natives believe themselves to

[1] See Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, *passim*, and the Reports of the Egypt Exploration Fund; Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*; Stokes, *Early Christian Art in Ireland*.

[2] See article 'Charms' (Primitive) in *Encycl. Rel. and Ethics*, iii. 393–4.

possess no less than four souls—namely the personal soul which is their 'life' and leaves them finally at death; the 'bush' soul which often wanders away into the bush and may for a time occupy some other object, a leopard for instance, during which period the owner becomes himself a leopard for the time being; the dream soul which wanders away in sleep; and the shadow soul which follows a man when the sun shines hot by day or when the moon casts its silver light by night. Now each of these souls must be most carefully guarded or evil will befall the owner; the shadow soul, for example, must never be trodden upon, the leopard must not be killed, a man must not be too suddenly awakened out of sleep lest his dream soul be left behind in the lurch, and so on. But the most striking example of belief in the external soul is found among the natives of Central Australia, more especially in the Arunta tribe, where not only are the souls of the various members of the tribe carefully preserved in the *churinga*, the sacred sticks or stones which are tied up in bundles and deposited in the *ertnatulunga*, referred to in earlier chapters, but on the occasions when a fight is coming on, or a particularly dangerous hunting expedition is to be undertaken, the men carefully place their souls in little bags which they tie to a tree or pole to await their safe return.[1]

Bearing these facts in mind we are not surprised that the keen eye of Sir J. G. Frazer, when he was surveying the material for his *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*, descried this passage, and found in the idea of 'the external soul' the explanation of the curious fact that in the time of Isaiah the expression 'houses of the soul' meant 'perfume-boxes'. He is dealing with two other passages in which the external soul seems to be referred to (1 Sam. xxv. 29 and Ezek. xiii. 17–21), and this is what he says: 'It may well be that these "houses of the soul" were amulets in which the soul of the wearer was supposed to lodge. The commentators on the passage recognize that many of the trinkets in the prophet's list were probably charms, just as personal ornaments often are in the East to the present day.' And then he proceeds: 'This view of the "houses of the soul" does not necessarily exclude their identification with scent-

[1] Mary Kingsley, *West African Studies*, 109–11, 169–76; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 128–36, 138.

bottles', and continues with a beautiful passage with which we entirely agree, and to which we shall refer again.[1]

But another explanation has suggested itself to my mind, and one which also has to do with the idea of the 'external soul', and with all diffidence I will now propound it.

We have seen that in accordance with the range of animistic ideas it is not only human beings, or even animals, that possess souls, but all things that exist, animate and inanimate alike; and that it is the fact of the possession of souls that gives them their *mana*, their mystic influence or power. We may note here in passing that this philosophy of primitive man brings us very near to the ideas of the Schoolmen, who taught, as is well known, that underlying all the sensible attributes of a thing—its accidents—there lay an incorporeal reality—its essence—which makes it to be what it is; and this essence might be removed and replaced by another, the accidents remaining exactly as they were; hence, from their point of view, the possibility and philosophical reasonableness of the doctrine of Transubstantiation. But this by the way!

Moreover, as Sir J. G. Frazer is careful to point out, the Hebrew word for soul is *nephesh*, i.e. breath; the soul of a thing, its life, is the breath. And this applies to all substances; how much more to such beauteous objects as flowers, which exhale such exquisite perfumes when their 'breath', or soul, is inhaled in the act of smelling! And for this very reason do we not speak of perfumes as 'essences'?

'It was the pleasant fancy of the ancients that the smell was the soul of a flower', writes Mr. Edmund Candler in a fascinating article on 'The Smell of Flowers' in the *Cornhill Magazine* for July 1919, to which I would refer my readers, and in this we have the whole *raison d'être* of my argument. It is not so much the soul of the wearer as the soul of the flower, or whatever the essence or perfume is derived from, that is so carefully enclosed in the little box, that it may lend its *mana*, its influence, its inspiration, for the strengthening of the soul of its fair wearer.

So we can agree with Sir J. G. Frazer when he says: 'In the eyes of a people who, like the Hebrews, identified the principle

[1] Frazer, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, p. 513.

of life with the breath, the mere act of smelling a perfume might easily assume a spiritual aspect; the scented breath inhaled might seem an accession of life, an addition made to the essence of the soul. Hence it would be natural to regard the fragrant object itself, whether a scent-bottle, incense, or a flower, as a centre of radiant spiritual energy,' although we think it unnecessary to continue with him ' and therefore as a fitting place into which to breathe out the soul whenever it was deemed desirable to do so for a time.'

But again we may heartily agree with our learned author when he adds: ' Far-fetched as this idea '—I should say ' either of these ideas '—' may appear to us, it may seem natural enough to the folk and to their best interpreters the poets:

I sent thee late a rosy wreath,
Not so much honouring thee
As giving it a hope that there
It could not withered be;
But thou thereon didst only breathe
And sent'st it back to me;
Since when it grows, and smells, I swear,
Not of itself but thee. BEN JONSON.

' The folk-lore of scents has yet to be studied. In investigating it, as in every branch of folk-lore, the student may learn much from the poets, who perceive by intuition what most of us have to learn by a laborious collection of facts. Indeed, without some touch of poetic fancy, it is hardly possible to enter into the heart of the people. A frigid rationalist will knock in vain at the magic rose-wreathed portal of fairyland. The porter will not open to Mr. Gradgrind.' Of such a touch of poetic fancy Sir J. G. Frazer shows himself in all his writings to be abundantly possessed; the present writer may be allowed to express the hope that he is not altogether devoid of it.[1]

Thus we have endeavoured to throw light on a hitherto somewhat obscure passage and one that has been slurred over by the commentators.

Of course it is not to be supposed that the ladies of the court of King Ahaz consciously held either the idea proposed by Sir

[1] Frazer, *op. cit.*, vol. ii, pp. 515–16.

J. G. Frazer or that put forward in this chapter; they no more did so than did Milton, or the people of his day, when he wrote:

> Tower'd cities please us then,
> And the busy hum of men,
> Where throngs of knights and barons bold
> In weeds of peace high triumphs hold,
> With store of ladies whose bright eyes
> Rain influence. *L'Allegro.*

or when he wrote again:

> The stars, with deep amaze,
> Stand fixt in stedfast gaze,
> Bending one way their precious influence,
> *Hymn on the Nativity.*[1]

but, in the one case as in the other, the idea is derived from the ancient and primitive philosophy of Animism, and survives as a precious relic of the past to a more sophisticated, or as we should say civilized, age in the poetry of the people; and what more poetic name could there be for a scent-bottle than that of 'House of the Soul'—of a flower?

[1] In the first of these quotations the poet pictures the ladies as raining 'influence', mystic power, secret potency, upon their champions through their 'bright eyes', the windows of the soul. In the second passage he refers to the astrological belief in the 'influence' of the stars: so he writes again in *Paradise Lost*, ii. 1034:

> But now at last the sacred influence
> Of light appears.

And every one is familiar with the text in Job xxxviii. 31, 'Canst thou bind the sweet influences of Pleiades?' So Shakespeare writes in *Measure for Measure* of 'the skiey influences', and cf. *King Lear*, I. ii. 96–132. But it all goes back to the primitive belief in the external soul and *mana*; the stars were living beings whose twinkling eyes rained influence on their votaries either for good or evil.

CHAPTER IX

MYTHOLOGY IN THE PSALMS

The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Seas, the Hills, and the Plains,
Are not these, O Soul, the Vision of Him who reigns?
* * * * * * *
And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see,
But if we could see and hear this Vision—were it not He?

TENNYSON, *The Higher Pantheism.*

ON the southern shores of the Baltic from time immemorial a flourishing industry has been carried on consisting in the collection of amber—the fossilized resin of a species of pine that once covered the district. From time to time a rough piece of amber is found which, on being cut and cleaned and polished and rendered transparent, discloses within an insect perfectly preserved, telling of the fauna of the primeval dawn. The hapless creature had alighted on the moist gum and before it could release itself its feet had been fastened down, and in process of time the gum had enveloped it and dried round it, and thus it has been transmitted to our days.

After a somewhat similar fashion, ideas which were living in their day are found in the literature of antiquity which has come down to us, and by this means we are enabled to judge, as we otherwise could not do, of the beliefs which were current in the times of the writers, or which had been handed down to them and probably had no longer a living meaning even for them. In fact the beliefs have been transmuted to poetry, but they reveal their origin, and are thus of the greatest value to us, as we endeavour to pierce the veil that hides the past and to discover the thoughts of the men of old. In that classic book, Tylor's *Primitive Culture*, under the heading of ' Mythology ', this has been demonstrated once for all, and it need not detain us further. Andrew Lang also dealt with it in his *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, and other works.

Of no ancient literature is this more true than of the Old Testament, for although none of it is so ancient as was at one

time supposed, yet in it are to be found clear evidences of the survival to historic times of some of the very earliest ideas and beliefs of the human race.

This is as true of the Psalter as it is of the earliest records contained in JE, or the writings of the earlier prophets.

The Psalter as it has come down to us is a very late document. Long ago Kuenen said of it that notwithstanding the fact that David is mentioned as the author of no less than seventy of the songs contained in it, ' probably not one of the Psalms is from David's hands ', and the evidence of comparative religion and of the evolution of religious ideas has made the probability a certainty for us to-day. The testimony of its contents proves, even of such Psalms as the eighteenth and the fifty-first, which the critics themselves long strove to assign to David, that it is the product of much later times and of far other minds. Like the Pentateuch, on the analogy of which the Psalter was divided into five books, it contains documents of varying dates, none of which, however, can be older than the Exile; and the majority are the work of poets of the Persian, Maccabean, and Greek periods of the restored nation, so that the collection in its entirety is indeed what it has been well called, ' the hymn-book of the Second Temple '.

The ideas which David, for example, entertained of Yahweh were necessarily very much more primitive than those of the authors of the Psalter: we need only mention the fact that one of David's complaints to Saul in regard to his treatment of him was that in compelling him to take refuge with the Philistines he had driven him from abiding in the inheritance of Yahweh, saying, Go serve other gods; i.e. Yahweh's dominion extended no farther than the land occupied by Israel; outside its bounds one was compelled to worship the gods of the land in which one found oneself (1 Sam. xxvi. 19).

A whole aeon of development lies between such a notion and those which are found in the Psalter, and the principle of the evolution of religious and moral ideas must be our guide. As we study the Psalter we are struck at once by the fact that at the background of the poems it contains there is manifest the whole experience and teaching of the Prophets.

Yahweh is all and more than all that they have declared Him

to be. No longer do we find the simple innocence of J, when Yahweh could walk in the enchanted garden, or come down and converse with Abraham, or talk with Moses face to face, or reveal Himself at the shrine in the holy stone or well or tree, sacred to the spirit of the locality in the older religion; no longer do we find even the exclusiveness of D when Israel is to be a holy people because Yahweh, their own exclusive, peculiar, national God, is holy; no, the wider outlook is that of the 2nd Isaiah and of P when Yahweh is the one only God, revealed specially to Israel, but the God of the whole earth. Numberless passages attest this: let one suffice, ' They shall know that thou, whose name is Yahweh, art only the most Highest over all the earth.' Ps. lxxxiii. 18 (cf. 2nd Isaiah, Isa. xl ff.).

It is all the more interesting, therefore, to find in the songs of the poets whose strains encouraged the warriors who opposed the Seleucid kings and fought with Judas and Simon the Maccabees, and in the plaintive outpourings of the Khasidim and the Anavim—the ' pious ' and the ' meek ' ones of Israel—relics of old beliefs which had long lost their force as living elements in the religion of the people, and yet served to emphasize and enforce religious ideas.

This is what we mean by mythology in the Psalms, and its permanent religious value is of equal weight with that of any of the mythic and legendary narratives in the Old Testament. As Professor Cheyne well said: ' Nothing will more heighten our respect for the Hebrew Scriptures than a careful study of Psalms xxix, lviii, and lxxxii in connexion with the Prologue of Job, and, to take a still wider range, with those narratives of Genesis which have sometimes been so unwisely ridiculed. We at least can see that, though they scorned not to pick the wayside flowers of mythic imagery, the Old Testament writers have most deftly interwoven them with blooms of another clime, that they have in short pressed popular imagination into the service of religion.' [1]

Before proceeding further we must be careful to distinguish between mythology and metaphor. Metaphor is broken-down mythology, and of this we have many examples in the poetic language of the Psalmists, just as in our own language. No

[1] Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, p. 325.

one can properly understand such expressions as those in which we describe a man as being of a jovial, a mercurial, or a saturnine disposition without knowing something of the mythology of Greece and Rome, though the expressions as we use them are pure metaphor. So, for example, when we read in Ps. lxxxiv, 'Yahweh Elohim is a sun', we see at once that mythology has been broken down into metaphor, and this very fact is itself a strong evidence of the late date of the poem. This is equally true of the occurrence of such examples of mythological survival as those with which we shall now proceed to deal; these have no longer the flavour of primitive myth though they retain the appearance and expression of it.

First, as to Yahweh Himself: though He is all that we have stated above, yet He has not altogether discarded His more ancient attributes. In the magnificent description of Yahweh in Ps. xviii. 6–17 as He comes to the aid of His afflicted servant there is no doubt poetic metaphor, but it is unmistakably based on a mythological foundation. Just as the poet of Exod. xv says of Him: 'Yahweh is a man of war', so here He is a warrior-god, coming out of His palace (? Sinai, as in Ps. lxviii), the Mount that burned with fire, riding upon a cherub, i.e. the thunder-cloud, flying on the wings of the wind, wielding the lightning flashes which are His thunderbolts, and uttering His voice in the roar of the thunder; these are the visible and audible embodiments of His presence. To the writer, probably of the Maccabean age, this was no doubt poetic symbolism, but it carries us back to the time when primitive man trembled at the awesome forces of Nature, and prostrated himself before the god revealed in her most awe-inspiring aspect.

The same ideas are at the bottom of the latter part of the twenty-fourth Psalm, and of that most beautiful nature-Psalm, the twenty-ninth. In the first we see Yahweh as the King of glory, Yahweh strong and mighty, Yahweh mighty in battle, victorious over His enemies and welcomed to His heavenly palace by the hosts of heaven—of this we shall have more to say later; in the twenty-ninth Psalm Yahweh is the God of glory who manifests Himself in the thunderstorm, and it is His 'voice' that controls the waters and breaks the cedars, and divides the flames of fire, and shakes the wilderness, while the

trembling hinds cast their fawns and the leaves are stript from the forest, and in His palace all things say Glory. ' Yahweh is here holding an assize; He is surrounded by the " Sons of God "', i.e. the gods of the heathen turned by Judaism into angels commissioned to rule the nations (Deut. iv. 19, Dan. x. 13; cf. Pss. lviii. 1, and lxxxii. 1), and these are exhorted to ' ascribe honour to Him ', i.e. to acknowledge His superiority, which consists in His being the God of heaven, i.e. of the world.[1] And in order that He may judge He appears in the storm which travels eastward from the sea over the land, and forms the opening scene in the drama of the assize.[2]

To return to Ps. xviii. We find there the poet describing Yahweh as ' my Rock '. This is a favourite expression both with Psalmists and Prophets: cf. Ps. lxi, ' the Rock that is higher than I '; Isa. xxvi. 4, ' Yahweh is the Rock of Ages '; these phrases imply the strength and might of Yahweh, but the idea embodied takes us back at once to primitive times. We are reminded of the sacred character of the rocky summits of mountains, such as Hermon, and of hills like Zion, and of the consequent worship on ' high places ', and further we are taken back to the idea of ' the god in the stone ' and the ' Mazzebah ' or standing pillar which accompanied every shrine in old Israel and persisted down to the latest times. In the same way we read in Ps. xxxvi, ' With Thee is the well of life '—the ancient well-worship of animism taken over and consecrated to Yahweh. ' Sacred waters are instinct with divine life and energy,' and Yahweh Himself is now the fountain of living waters; these ideas are at the bottom of the ceremonies at the feast of Tabernacles where the water was drawn from the sacred pool of Siloam and poured over the altar, and we remember the use our Lord made of the custom (John vii. 37, 38). 'With joy ', says a late prophet, ' shall ye draw water out of the wells of salvation ', Isa. xii. 3. With this cycle of ideas goes also the notion of sacred trees; but all these have, perhaps, more to do with folk-lore than actual mythology.[3]

In Ps. xlviii. 2, there is an interesting relic of mythology in

[1] Wellhausen, *SBOT.*, *Psalms*, *loc. cit.*

[2] Cf. Ps. lxxvii. 16–18.

[3] On the whole subject Tylor's *Primitive Culture* and W. Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites* should be consulted.

the expression 'On the sides (or "corner", or "the uttermost") of the North'. This expression has been supposed to be due to the influence of Babylonian religion, in which the abode of the gods was placed in the north, but it seems to have been common to the Semites: Hermon was in the north of Palestine, and was, as we have seen, a sacred mountain. So too Olympus, the sacred mountain of the Greeks and the abode of the gods, was in the north. (Cf. 'the sides of the north' in Lucifer's address, Isa. xiv. 13.)

When the 'gods' of the nations became 'devils' in Christian mythology the position was reversed; and the south, the region of sunshine and warmth and light, became the abode of God and His saints and the north was given over to the demons. Hence the Epistle is read on the south side of the altar in the celebration of the Christian Eucharist—the message to the enlightened—and the Gospel is read on the north side—the proclamation to those who are in darkness; hence the Christian emblems on the tympana over the south door, and the emblems of demons over the north door, in Norman churches; and hence the curious superstition which makes people avoid the north side of the churchyard for burial.

In the nineteenth Psalm the first half has well been called the 'Song of the Sun'. Just as the worship of the sun, the moon, and the stars (see Pss. viii and cxlviii) lay so far behind the poets of the Psalter that they could employ the metaphor of Ps. lxxxiv, so they were not afraid to praise the sun in the terms of the old mythology.

Sun-worship itself was a late development in Israel. Yahweh was originally the 'god of the land' who absorbed all the local Baals into himself, but under Ahaz, and to a greater extent still under Manasseh, sun-worship made vast strides and became the predominant cult. Hence the prohibitions of Deut. iv. 19, and the denunciations of Jer. viii. 1–2, and the description of the sun-worshippers in Ezek. viii. 16.[1]

Note in the nineteenth Psalm the fearlessness and boldness of the poetic imagery, which in older days expressed the feelings

[1] On this whole subject the articles 'Idolatry' and 'Nature-worship' in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica* and the article 'Nature (Semitic)' in Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* may be profitably studied.

of the worshippers in a most literal sense. This is therefore another evidence of the late date of the poem, apart altogether from the praise of the ' Law ' in the second half of the Psalm.

In this connexion it may be noted that we have the same cult referred to in the title of the twenty-second Psalm. This is inscribed: ' To the chief Musician upon Aijeleth Shahar ', according to the A.V.; more correctly it should be: ' For the Liturgy. To the tune of The Hind of the Dawn.' All Wellhausen can say of it is: ' Probably the title of an old song',[1] and this is as far as most of the commentators get. But we ask: why the title? And the answer is that ' The Hind of the Dawn ' was a well-known epithet to describe the rising sun. In the Babylonian Talmud the first appearance of light is called ' the hind of the morning's dawn ', and it is taken from an ancient Babylonian description of Merodach as the mediator.[2]

The title will be recognized as all the more appropriate to the psalm when we note that it tells us of the triumph of the Messiah, after His conflict with Death and descent into Hades, our Sun of Righteousness, rising with healing in His wings (Mal. iv. 2)—and the image of the winged sun, so common both in Babylon and Egypt, is not only poetry, it is mythology too.

Again, there are many passages, e.g. Pss. lxxxii. 1, ci, civ, cxlviii (cf. lxxviii. 49), besides the one already mentioned in Ps. xxix, which is a somewhat later development, in which Yahweh is seen surrounded by His court, consisting of the guild or company of the Elohim. Originally the Elohim are all the sacred denizens of a locality, the spirits of the stone, the well, the tree, but these were all in time absorbed into one, till they became ' the throne and equipage of God's almightiness ', as Milton puts it, and ' Elohim ' in its totality becomes ' God ', i.e. Yahweh took them all up and merged them in Himself. But in the Psalms we see the old notion still surviving as a relic of mythology and giving scope for poetic imagery in the picture of the court of heaven with the hosts of angels, good and evil (cf. 1 Kings xxii. 19–23), surrounding the throne of the Eternal.

[1] *SBOT., Psalms.*

[2] See the late Dr. Smythe Palmer's *Babylonian Influence on the Bible and Popular Beliefs*, pp. 98–100. Dr. Palmer was inclined to ascribe rather too much influence to Babylon in the religion of Israel, but read with caution his book is most valuable.

This has survived as developed by later Judaism and finds its place in Christianity as the doctrine of angels and their counterpart, the devils; so it is a late Psalmist who says: 'He sent evil angels among them' (Ps. lxxviii. 49), referring to the plagues of Egypt.

On this Dr. Cheyne well remarked: 'What may be presumed to be the Psalmists' object in their occasional mention of angels? The same as that of the great narrators who adopt certain popular myths and legends, not with a historical object (for what we call history was not yet born), but to fill them with a new and purer spirit. The Psalmists' object was not merely to regulate, but so far as possible to render subservient to edification a dangerous popular tendency which had been strengthened by Babylonian and Persian influences.'[1]

We come now to a group of passages which enshrine in themselves a whole region of mythologic thought in that they introduce us to the primeval monster of Chaos, referred to in Gen. 1 as Tehôm, i.e. the Babylonian Tiâmat, the mighty foe of Marduk, or Merodach, the prototype of the great principle of disorder and anarchy, the enemy of order, the prince of darkness, the enemy of light, who in process of time became 'the Dragon, that old Serpent and Satan', the primeval and eternal antagonist of God and man.

These are Pss. xviii. 4, 5, xl. 2, lxxi. 20, lxxiv. 13, 14, civ. 6, and cxxxix. 8–10.[2] In these mention is made of Tehôm Tiâmat, Leviathan, Tannin, Rahab, Belial, and Sheôl.

[1] Cheyne, *Origin of the Psalter*, pp. 323–4.

[2] The breakers of death compassed me, the torrents of Belial made me afraid. The cords of Sheôl compassed me about; the snares of death came before me. Ps. xviii. 4, 5.

He brought me up also out of the pit of destruction, out of the miry clay, &c. Ps. xl. 2.

Thou shalt bring me up again from the depths (*tehômoth*, pl.) of the earth. Ps. lxxi. 20. (Var. Bib. deep waters of the earth).

Thou didst divide the sea by thy strength: thou brakest the heads of the dragons in the waters. Thou brakest the heads of Leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat for the people dwelling in the wilderness. Ps. lxxiv. 13, 14.

Thou coverest it (the earth) with the deep (*tehôm*) as with a garment: the waters stood above the mountains. Ps. civ. 6.

If I ascend up into heaven, thou art there; if I make my bed in Sheôl, thou art there. If I take the wings of the morning, and dwell in the uttermost parts of the sea; even there shall thine hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me. Ps. cxxxix. 8–10.

They are all connected with the sea—first of all the primeval ocean, encircling the world, and represented under the figure of a serpent. This is found in many mythologies; it figures in the Babylonian map of the world, and is referred to by Homer as 'the all-encircling Okeanos'. Then it refers to the sea itself, of which all Semites, but more especially the Hebrews, always had a dread, as being the rough, tempestuous element, untamed and tumultuous, that carried on to their own time the work of Tiâmat in primeval ages. Then the underworld, practically Sheôl, because the departed, to use an expression common among our soldiers during the late war, 'went west' like the sun at his setting, and like him sank beneath the waters to the region of Hades and the shades. In all these passages the same monstrous being is intended in one or other of his various aspects.

Tehôm is mentioned in many passages—the most important being Ps. civ. 6—where the primeval ocean is clearly intended (cf. Ps. cxxxv. 6, where we find the plural *tehômoth*). We pass on to Leviathan, 'the twisting serpent', in Ps. lxxiv, where he is coupled with Tannin, the dragon, and in Ps. civ. 26, where he is described as playing and taking his pastime in the sea.[1] In the former passage Wellhausen omits ver. 14, and says of it: 'This verse contains heterogeneous mythology and destroys the connexion of ver. 13 with ver. 15.' Of Tannin he says 'the Egyptians are the dragons', and in Ps. civ 'Leviathan is the crocodile'. We cannot agree with his dictum as to Ps. lxxiv. 14, but there is a residuum of truth in his other remarks, as we shall see below. Nor can we agree with Robertson Smith[2] that 'the Leviathan is probably a personification of the waterspout'. He may be that as part of the manifestation of the agitation of the sea, but his mythological import goes, as we have seen, much deeper than that. He is the Midgard Serpent of the northern mythology, the prototype of the sea serpent, and with this agrees the statement in Ps. civ. 26.

Ps. lxxiv. 14 is indeed one of the most interesting pieces of mythology in the whole Psalter. Leviathan is there a sort of Cerberus with many heads, reminding us of 'the Dragon with seven heads' in the Book of Revelation, for the apocalyptic

[1] Wellhausen, *SBOT.*, *Psalms*, *loc. cit.*, finds a humorous touch in the phrase: God made Leviathan as a plaything for Himself.

[2] *Religion of the Semites*, p. 176.

writers did not invent their imagery but took it as they found it ready to their hand, and not only are the 'heads of the dragons'—many of them—'crushed', but these 'heads of Leviathan'—one mighty foe—'are shattered', and, the poet continues, 'Thou gavest him as food, as meat for the beasts of the desert'. This points to some statement in the ancient mythological story that the mighty monster had been cast, as it were, upon the sea-shore, and the beasts of the desert feasted on his shattered heads. We may compare Rev. xix. 17–18, where the fowls of the air are bidden to feast on the kings of the earth and their hosts after Armageddon.[1]

'Rahab', translated 'the proud' (A.V.) in Ps. xl. 4, and 'Belial' in Ps. xviii. 5, 6, represent the same monstrous dragon or serpent, as the parallelism shows; and in Ps. cxxxix he is lord of Sheôl, the dark abode of the shades, nay, he is Sheôl itself, and even there Yahweh is present and is Lord.[2]

Now all these variations of the great protagonist of evil find their embodiment in earthly forces opposed to God. A late prophet in the Book of the 2nd Isaiah says: 'The wicked are like the troubled sea when it cannot rest' (Isa. lvii. 20), and Our Lord uses the same imagery in Luke xxi. 25, when He speaks of 'the sea and the waves roaring' as an image of the disturbance of the nations.

As such they personify any nation or power opposed to God or to His people. In Ps. lxxxvii. 4, Rahab and Babylon are coupled together, and there Rahab represents Egypt, as in Ps. lxxxix. 10, where he is coupled with the raging of the sea. In Isa. li. 9 the prophet exclaims, apostrophizing the arm of Yahweh, 'Art thou not it that smote Rahab and wounded the Dragon?'; and in a later passage, Isa. xxvii. 1, the writer exclaims 'In that day shall Yahweh draw his sickle-sword against Leviathan, the fleeing serpent, and against Leviathan, the crooked serpent, and he shall slay the dragon (*tannin*) that is in the sea' (the two monsters referring symbolically to the Assyrians and to Egypt); and St. Paul, drawing on Rabbinic sources, takes Belial, Ps. xviii. 4, as the hostile power that finds its home in wicked men, 2 Cor. vi. 15.

[1] Cf. in the Anglo-Norman poem *The Voyage of St. Brendan*, ed. Waters, Oxford 1928, the section 'The fight of the sea-serpents', pp. 48–53.

[2] See Smythe Palmer, *op. cit.*, under the various Psalms.

Mention may be made here of Dr. A. Jeremias' *The Old Testament in the Light of the Ancient East* (1911), in which this whole subject is fully dealt with, somewhat on the lines of Dr. Smythe Palmer, but with more elaboration of detail. With much in the book we may disagree; for example, he makes no allowance for the outlook on nature of primitive man, and so where the anthropologist sees Animism as ' the seed of all religion ' he only sees his own all-embracing theory. It may be said that he does not go back far enough, nor study primitive man in the light of his congeners, the primitive peoples of to-day; but whatever the reason, as he looks back on the primitive East emerging into the light of history he sees nothing but one vast astral religion, which, emanating from Babylon, overspreads the whole world. The theory is made to cover too much; for example, he carries it through Persia and India to China, and on to the Mexicans and Peruvians, in one direction; and, in the other, through Crete and Greece in the Mycenaean age to Scandinavia—connecting the worship of the Double-Axe with the Hammer of Thor, and both with the sword of Marduk and Ashur, and ' the glittering spear ' of Yahweh. The mythological *motif* is doubtless of like import in each case but most probably arose independently.

Thus there is, no doubt, a substratum of truth in the theory if it is not pushed too far, and the mythological ideas involved were shared by the Hebrews and by the ' Canaanite ' forms of worship ' which agree with the Babylonian teaching, namely the worship of the god of the sun and of spring, who, after his victory over the powers of winter, built the world and took charge of its destiny '. Of this astral religion of the ancient East traces are certainly found in many directions in the adjoining lands, in historic times; the mythology of which we find the débris in the Psalms referred to, and in the corresponding passages of Job and Isaiah and elsewhere, runs through the whole Orient, and is found in the Bible from Genesis to Revelation, and bespeaks one tremendous originating impulse in the climatic conditions of Babylonia. Reasons of space forbid quotation beyond the following : ' There seems no doubt that the strife between Yahweh and Tehôm and between Marduk and Tiâmat belong to the same cycle of ideas. When the Israelite

wished to describe the strife of Yahweh against the powers of evil, he clothed his story in a picture of the combat with Rahab or Leviathan, mythological monsters, just as he thought of the ancient-oriental river of death when he wished to describe the fear of death (" the floods of Belial made me afraid ", Ps. xviii. 4). The teaching of the expectation of a Redeemer who is to bring in the new age is veiled in mythology in the combat of Marduk with the Dragon, and in the Biblical presentation of the expectation of the Redeemer the Dragon combat is used, which begins with the expulsion from Paradise, and is to come to an end in the final age.' [1]

But to return: in all this tremendous conflict portrayed under mythological forms, whether in the primeval world when Marduk overcame Tiâmat, or Elohim tamed Tehôm and evoked order out of chaos at his fiat, or in the conflict between light and darkness, summer and winter, good and evil, right and wrong, on earth, the Psalmists like the prophets are sure of one thing: order must overcome disorder, good must be triumphant over evil, right over wrong; in a word, God must win, however louring may be the sky, however appearances may seem to point to the contrary.

This was the comfort of Israel under Assyrian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman tyranny; may it not be ours in the circumstances of this post-war world? The eternal conflict is still being waged; never did the forces of darkness loom more threateningly on the world than in the Great War, and since then in the Bolshevist revolution in Russia, the disturbances in China and elsewhere, but the victory is sure if only we are steadfast. In any case the victory is sure: society may be tottering, civilization be shattered, irreligion increase, but God must win. Is the sea the emblem of all that is opposed to God? The time is coming in the new Jerusalem when ' there shall be no more sea '.

[1] On the passages from the Psalms consult Jeremias, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 149, 153, 192–6, and elsewhere. In reading the book we must bear in mind the caution uttered by Canon Johns in his Introduction to the English translation: ' The book must be used everywhere with independent judgement.' Few, for example, will be likely to see astral *motifs* in the Blessings of Jacob and of Moses, where, in the references to animals under the various tribes, I find unmistakable traces of totemism. See Chapter IV.

Mythology still lives in folk-lore, and, as with the Psalmists for their distressed people, so for us it may serve to enhearten and strengthen us even in these trying times. Marduk still fights and conquers Tiâmat. St. Michael and his shining hosts still fight the old Dragon in heaven and overcome. St. George still vanquishes the dragon on earth. The warrior on the white horse, our victorious Christ, still goes forth with the armies of heaven and earth following in His train, conquering and to conquer. He shall surely be the victor in the age-long fight. ' And when all things shall be subdued unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all.' This is the true Christian, as it was the true Jewish, optimism; this is ' the faith and patience of the saints'. ' The Lord on high is mightier than the mighty waves of the sea ', Ps. xciii. 4. It may be observed, in conclusion, that this thought as to the final victory of right over might, of good over evil, which is adumbrated in the Psalms, is the inspiring theme of that great mass of apocalyptic literature which characterized Jewish writers in the two centuries immediately preceding and the century following the birth of Christ. Let us see to it that we are on God's side!

CHAPTER X

REST DAYS

(A STUDY ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SABBATH)

THE study of origins must always have a fascination for inquiring minds. We come into a world in which we find ourselves surrounded by a host of institutions fixed and established to which we are expected to adapt ourselves, and the majority are quite content to take them for granted and to conform to them without question, or to accept the ready-made explanations of them which have been handed down from generation to generation. But there is always a minority who must be asking questions—the whence, the why, the wherefore—and these will not be satisfied with any merely *a priori* or traditional answers; the answer that will satisfy them must be founded on research and investigation. Especially is this the case with such a subject as the almost universal institution of periods of refraining from ordinary work—here called Rest Days.

As we study primitive peoples we find in all ages and in all parts of the world days more or less regularly occurring on which all work was *tabu*, i.e. prohibited on pain of ecclesiastical censure (using the word ecclesiastical to denote anything connected with the rules of any religion whatever). The origin and meaning of *tabu* has been explained in Chapter I. The word as we have seen comes from the South Sea Islands: the thing is universal.

As a simple illustration of the twofold meaning of the term we may take again the story of Achan in the Book of Joshua. The spoils of Jericho were consecrate to Yahweh and as such were holy; if any sacrilegious person dared appropriate them to his own use they brought a curse upon him; Achan did appropriate some of the spoil and brought on himself the punishment due to one who meddled with 'the accursed thing': he broke *tabu* and earned his merited reward. Again, the pig is one of the animals which the Jew was forbidden to eat—it was, and is, *tabu* to a Jew, as it is also to a Mohammedan—consequently the Greeks used to say that the Jews worshipped the pig.

To quote an author who has made this subject his own: ' A comparative study of the *tabus* observed by primitive peoples indicates that originally things or persons are tabooed because they are considered dangerous, mysterious, abnormal, uncanny, " awful "—because they are felt to be potent for weal or woe in the life of man. Living in a mental stage where distinctions of cause and effect are not clearly drawn, the savage finds no difficulty in imagining a universe in which all things have power, after their kind, a power for good or ill—in other words have *mana*. This now familiar Melanesian term, like the Iroquoian *orenda* and others, may be said to express early man's sense of those ever-present, though vague and impersonal, forces immanent in nature.'[1]

The institution of *tabu* included also rules for the special observance of certain times and seasons. Thus in Hawaii, in old days, a period of forty days is mentioned; there were also periods of ten or five days or even of only one day. During such a period, which may almost be likened to an ' interdict ', all work was abandoned, every fire and light was put out, no person bathed, no one was seen out of doors, save those whose presence was required at the temple; moreover, ' no dog must bark, no pig must grunt, no cock must crow—or the *tabu* would be broken'. Consequently the rules for sabbath observance introduced by the Christian missionaries among their Hawaiian converts presented no sharp contrast to the rigours of the old dispensation; indeed, Sunday was called ' the tabooed day '. Similar sacred or ' tabooed ' days, occurring at regular intervals, are found among all primitive peoples, especially in agricultural communities; sabbaths of this sort are unknown only among migratory hunting or fishing peoples or among nomadic pastoral tribes who require no regular day of rest. The greater number of periodic rest days observed by agricultural peoples in the lower stages of culture are associated with the institution of the market. In New Guinea there is a tribe which works for two days and rests on the third, which is a market day. In Celebes, Sumatra, and Java, among the Indo-Chinese, as in Tonkin and in Siam, markets are held every fifth day, when all work ceases. Among the semi-civilized negroes about the Gulf of Guinea, in

[1] Hutton Webster, *Rest Days*, New York, 1916, pp. 4, 5.

West Africa, the sabbatarian character of the market day is specially pronounced, and these are held every third, fifth, eighth, or tenth day in different localities. Some West African tribes divide the month into weeks, and keep one week-day as a general sabbath; others assign the particular days of the week to the gods worshipped by different classes in the community, and for the adherents of a god to violate the day sacred to him is a serious offence, punishable with a fine, and in former times with death. The seven-day week is not unknown to the Guinea negroes. An important instance of the market week and the market day in archaic civilizations is that of the Roman *nundinae*, a cycle eight days in length, beginning or closing with a day when the peasants came to Rome for purposes of trade. The nundinal day, however, was more than a market day; the ordinary occupations were interrupted, school children enjoyed a holiday, and sumptuous banquets celebrated the festive occasion.

Enough has been said to illustrate the universal character of the observance of rest days; we must now exhibit their association with the phases of the moon, for among many primitive peoples the moon, rather than the sun, the planets, or any of the constellations, first excited the imagination and aroused feelings of superstitious awe or of religious veneration. It was impossible to miss noticing the phases of the moon, and all sorts of superstitious observances were the result. The rays of the full moon were believed to be harmful, especially to children; they caused epilepsy, as two passages in the New Testament illustrate (Matt. iv. 24, and xvii. 15), and 'lunacy'. Says a Psalmist: 'The sun shall not smite thee by day nor the moon by night' (Ps. cxxi. 6). It influences the tides and the crops, and is the parent of genius and poesy. Many a hard practical man thinks in his heart that the poet is a 'moonstruck' individual.[1]

But the most fruitful result of the observation of the phases of the moon is the institution of the lunar calendar[2] and the

[1] Compare *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act v. sc. i, 'The lunatic, the lover, and the poet, Are of imagination all compact,' &c.

[2] Cf. Tacitus, on the counting of nights rather than days, *Germania*, c. xi: 'Coeunt, nisi quid fortuitum et subitum incidit, certis diebus, cum aut incohatur luna aut impletur; nam agendis rebus hoc auspicatissimum initium credunt. Nec dierum numerum, ut nos, sed noctium computant; sic constituunt, sic condicunt; nox ducere diem videtur.'—Compare also our 'se'nnight', 'fortnight', &c.

week. Among savage and barbarous peoples the moon is the measure of time, and the period of a lunation affords the customary unit for longer reckonings. The ancient Egyptians at the very dawn of their history used the solar calendar, but there can be no doubt that this was preceded by a more primitive reckoning of the year in lunations from the fact that the figure of a crescent moon was the hieroglyph for ' month '. In this connexion we may note that the Egyptians employed a division of the lunar month into three periods of ten days each, and curiously enough this division was revived by the French among the changes made during the Revolution of 1789 and the succeeding years. The Babylonian and Hebrew calendars were based on the moon. The Sumero-Accadians and after them the Babylonians were the earliest astronomers (and astrologers), and the seven-day week is of very early occurrence among them, though this was preceded by a still earlier division of the month into two periods of fourteen days each beginning with the new and full moon. This was natural, since new moon and full moon are the most conspicuous lunar phases; from this to the division of the fortnight and the institution of the seven-day week was an easy transition. The new and full moons continued to be observed as high festivals, and the intermediary days ending the half-fortnights held for long a secondary position. The same thing holds good among the Hebrews, who would seem to have derived their seven-day division of time from a common primitive Semitic tradition and not directly from the Babylonians. That the primitive Hebrews already had a seven-day week from time immemorial would appear from the fact that the legislator (P) carries the institution of the Sabbath back to the period of the Creation, and that in his account of the Creation he makes it take place in six days with a seventh day of rest at the end (Gen. i. P). In Babylonian the word *sabattu*, corresponding with Sabbath, signified originally the ' full moon ', and it is remarkable that even as late as the time of the prophet Isaiah the twofold division of the month still seems to have held good, for we read : ' Your new moons and Sabbaths I cannot away with ' (Isa. i.), i.e. your feasts on the new and full moons. This points to the fact that in Old Israel these were the appointed Rest Days.

That in Israel the origin of the seven-day week with its recurring weekly rest day was actually lost in the mists of antiquity is proved by the fact that the final editor of the Hexateuch allowed two accounts of it to survive—that of the Deuteronomist in which the seventh day is commanded to be observed as a Rest Day, or Sabbath, on which all work was tabooed as a memorial of the deliverance from the bondage of Egypt (Deut. v), and that of the post-exilic legislator in Exodus xx, with the development of the idea of its connexion with the Creation in Gen. i, already referred to. To us this is merely a fine philosophical speculation without any foundation in fact, since we know how far back creation goes, and that man himself has been on the earth for a period extending it may be to a million years, according to Sir Arthur Keith,[1] since he first appeared. But the statement of the Deuteronomist contains a beautiful idea and one which can be easily applied to the thought of man's redemption in Christ from the bondage of sin. Hence, to come to a practical suggestion which I have made on many occasions, if the clergy must continue to repeat the Commandments with comments in the Office of the Holy Communion let the version of the Fourth Commandment as it is given in Deuteronomy be substituted for that now read from Exodus. In this way we should be saved from any suspicion of dishonesty and of uttering what we know to be untrue in God's House. Surely this is worth while, for though the educated laity may know that what we utter is only a priestly comment without authority, the uneducated do not, and, if they think at all, they are shocked. Bishop Gore brought this suggestion forward in Convocation when the revision of the Office of Holy Communion was first under discussion, but he was overruled. The American Church has recently proposed the omission of the comments to the Commandments altogether, and this would have been permitted by the revised Prayer Book. As a matter of fact the reading of the Commandments as a 'Lesson' at the commencement of the service is a modern innovation, having been introduced at the instance of Peter Martyr when the second reformed office was issued in 1552, and it forms no part of the ancient liturgies. The best solution of the difficulty would be the sanctioning of

[1] Keith, *The Antiquity of Man*, ed. 1915, p. 510.

the use of Our Lord's summary of the Commandments as contained in St. Matthew xxii. 37–40, as the American and Scotch Episcopal Churches already do; and this too would have been permitted, and is already done in many churches.

In this chapter I have only been able to give a summary account of a very large subject, but I hope it has been made clear that the institution of a weekly Rest Day is not dependent upon the Hebrew Sabbath, which itself is a late development, but is of world-wide observation.[1]

All mankind testifies to the value of periodical Rest Days; as a merely physiological fact all experience proves that more work is done in six days with a seventh day of rest than when it is continuous from day to day without a break, and it was proved again in the case of the munition workers during the Great War, who started by working continuously but to whom the day of rest was afterwards restored.

But the Rest Day, both in the lower culture and among civilized peoples, was something more; it was the market day. Yes, but it was something more still—it was dedicated to the gods; hence it was *tabu* and all work was forbidden; but, being dedicated to the gods, it was kept as a feast day in their honour. This was the case, as we have seen, in old Israel; it was only after the Captivity, when a more gloomy view of life prevailed, that it became loaded with restrictions and observances, and a burden was laid on the people, which, as St. Peter puts it, ' neither we nor our fathers could bear '. It was a wise instinct that made the Christian Church substitute the first day of the week for the puritanized seventh day as the Christian Sunday, the Lord's Day, the weekly Festival of the Resurrection.

We should remember then that Sunday is a feast day, not a fast—as the Puritans mistakenly made it—and while we keep it free from sordid cares and worldly occupations we should at the same time keep its festal character ever before us. The key-note of Sunday is not: Thou shalt not do this, that, or the other, but:

[1] If anyone wishes to pursue the subject further I would recommend the study of the book referred to above, entitled *Rest Days*, by Professor Hutton Webster, of the University of Nebraska, U.S.A., published by Macmillan & Co., which is a mine of information and from which I have drawn many of the facts herein set forth; see also the article ' Sabbath ' in Hastings, *Encycl. Rel. and Ethics.*

Thou shalt remember the unseen world behind the seen, thou shalt serve the Lord thy God, thou shalt remember that thou art a child of eternity as well as of time, thou shalt aim high, thou shalt aspire. Its message is: 'Lift up your hearts,' to which our glad response should be: 'We lift them up unto the Lord.' So will our Sunday really be *tabu* in the highest sense, consecrated to God, not as a relic of, or Christian adaptation of, Jewish tradition, but as in very truth the Lord's Day.

And this implies that we sanctify if possible its *early* hours by *keeping* His Feast—the Holy Communion—even if we attend no other service. Having done this, we could then with a clear conscience spend the remainder of the day in harmless, innocent, refreshing recreation for mind and body.[1]

What a contrast this is to the ordinary religious Englishman's Sunday! Such a one, if belonging to the upper or middle classes, so-called, will attend Matins, and no doubt *enjoy* the service; if he belongs to a lower stratum of society, after a morning spent in bed and perhaps an afternoon walk, he will come, if he comes at all, to an evening service, and consider that he has done all that the most exacting sense of duty can require of him! How much greater the contrast with the Sunday of so many of our people, who spend its hours, when not 'resting', in various forms of pleasure—motoring, golfing, coursing, or social intercourse as the case may be.

The universal instinct of mankind, however, meets the sanctions imposed upon us by religion, and bids us keep our Rest Day as in very truth a day consecrated to God for the best and highest interests both of body and soul.

[1] I am all in favour of games on Sunday afternoons; it is far better than idly loitering, or worse.

CHAPTER XI

BIBLICAL FOLK-LORE

A REVIEW

THIS further product [1] of Sir James Frazer's encyclopaedic labours may be called an 'epoch-making' book, not by reason of the novelty of the subject, for it is one of the oldest in the world and has been the theme of commentators from time immemorial, but because of the novelty of its presentation. It is the application of anthropological methods to the Old Testament. Old-fashioned students of this literature, hallowed by so many religious associations, are likely to be shocked by the suggestion that within its pages are contained tales and descriptions of customs that can in any way be attached to the category that falls under the heading of folk-lore. They feel inclined to exclaim: 'Hands off! Defile not the holy thing with profane touch; this is sacred ground, and must be approached only by those from whose feet the shoes have been reverently put off.'

Such was my experience when I endeavoured to bring the same circle of ideas within reach of the readers of the *Diocesan Gazette* of my own diocese. The country clergy were up in arms at once, and more than one rural deanery passed resolutions fulminating against the profanity of the proceeding. And yet it must be; the time has gone by when the scriptures either of the Old or of the New Testament could be set up on a pedestal by themselves, and when it could be said: 'This is all inspired, all historical, and must be accepted as such, whatever the objections which history or science offer to the process.'

In those far-off days, as they seem to most of us, or even now in certain country districts to which the light thrown by modern discoveries in science and history has not yet penetrated, the attitude of the traditionalist may be compared to that of the man to whom the famous answer was given by Stephenson when asked

[1] *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament: Studies in Comparative Religion, Legend and Law.* By Sir J. G. Frazer, D.C.L., Oxon., &c. (London: Macmillan): 3 vols., 1918, since published in one volume, condensed.

what would happen to a cow on the line if a train should come along: 'God help the puir coo!' Thus was it in the early years of the last century that good men like William Buckland and Sir J. W. Dawson spent many a fruitless hour in the vain endeavour to ' reconcile ' the teachings of geology, biology, and anthropology with the supposed necessity of a literal interpretation of the ' sacred scriptures '.

But it will not do. The river of time has rolled on. As Professor Tyndall declared before the British Association at Belfast: ' We claim and we shall wrest from theology the entire domain of cosmological theory,' so now the same may be claimed of anthropology, in the sense that *a priori* dogmatism must give way to knowledge based on observation and comparison. However pious souls may still be grieved, they must now make up their minds to the inevitable. Nevertheless they need not be left comfortless; for if much is taken away—e.g. their childlike adherence to a vain and fancied infallibility in the literature of Israel—much more is given. They are now presented with a right perspective for the stories, in which all their beauties and all their defects may be seen in due proportion, and also their inclusion in a scheme which embraces ' the whole of man '.

So this book is ' epoch-making ' because it does for the psychology of the human race as a whole what Darwin did for all living things in the sphere of biological science. It displays, moreover, in a most alluring and readable form, calculated to appeal to a public not much given to effort of thought, the unity of the human race in the region of the emotions and the intellect, just as Darwin showed the unity of all physical life from plant to man. As the author himself says: ' The instrument for the detection of savagery under civilization is the comparative method, which, applied to the human mind, enables us to trace man's intellectual and moral evolution, just as, applied to the human body, it enables us to trace his physical evolution from lower forms of animal life. There is, in short, a comparative anatomy of the mind as well as of the body.' Thus we find demonstrated here once for all the thesis maintained by the present writer, viz. the truth of the axiom of anthropology, that ' man has everywhere, and in every race, progressed from savagery through barbarism to civilization', and its corollary,

that ' under a similar environment and at a corresponding stage of culture man is always and everywhere the same '. So it is proved, from their own writings, that in prehistoric times the ancestors of Israel had passed through the same stages—from savagery through barbarism to the measure of civilization attained in the time of the writers. Relics of these earlier stages are embedded in their literature like fossils in the rocks, and only await the diligent explorer to bring them to view. Such an explorer is Sir James Frazer.

Students of anthropology had long been aware that the learned author of *The Golden Bough*, of *Totemism and Exogamy*, and of numerous other works on the same lines was turning his attention to the folk-lore of the Old Testament. Many of the studies contained in these sumptuous volumes were indeed already familiar to them. Some of them had appeared in the volume of *Essays presented to Sir E. Tylor on his 70th Birthday*; one, a portion of the study of the Flood-stories, formed the Huxley Lecture before the Royal Anthropological Institute in 1916; another, the story of Jacob and the Mandrakes, was read before the British Academy in 1917; two small studies, ' The Silent Widow ' and ' The Bird-Sanctuary ', were read before the Oxford Congress of Religions in 1908, &c. In the volumes before us we have, so to say, the hatching of the egg, a catena brought together and offered to the general public. There are still many others, unnoticed by Sir James, which might well swell this already voluminous work to double its present size or more.[1]

These various excursions into the domain hitherto reserved for the theologian and the commentator show clearly how inadequate were their methods, and how valuable is the light thrown upon many an obscure passage by the modern method of comparative research. Many of the results will doubtless seem strange to those who are unfamiliar with primitive belief and custom, until they have learned to adapt themselves to the new spirit.

Before going further, however, it may be well to note that our author loves and reverences the Bible. Thus he writes: ' The scope of my work has obliged me to dwell chiefly on the lower side of ancient Hebrew life revealed in the Old Testament, on

[1] Some of Frazer's *lacunae* are filled up in this book, e.g. Chapters III and VI–VIII.

the traces of savagery and superstition which are to be found in its pages. But to do so is not to ignore, far less to disparage, the higher side of the Hebrew genius, which has manifested itself in a spiritual religion and a pure morality, and of which the Old Testament is the imperishable monument.'

Accordingly, though there may be here and there a phrase or a paragraph—as in i. 46, or iii. 90—which may wound the soul of the devout, yet this is due to the humour, not to the malevolence, of the writer. His treatment is, it is needless to say, marked by a very real reverence, somewhat disguised by a gentle irony which cannot prevent him seeing the soul of humour in things which to most English readers are hedged round with a sacredness that springs from ideas inherited from a time when the ' Bible ' was a sacred enclosure, which the foot of the profane might not enter. Thus in these remarks about Yahweh—whom the author persists, we suppose for the sake of the ' general reader ', in designating by the barbarous but familiar word ' Jehovah '—we must remember that he is envisaged from the standpoint of the times; and, as he says, ' a god, like a man, can only be fairly judged by the standard of the age to which he belongs '.

The work is divided into four parts: ' The Early Ages of the World '; ' The Patriarchal Age '; ' The Times of the Judges and the Kings '; and ' The Law '. The whole is based upon a full acceptance of the assured results of the Higher Criticism of the Old Testament, of which a good conspectus as concerns the documents of which Genesis is composed is given in i. 131 ff., and as regards the Law in iii. 93–110. Among the author's immense list of authorities we are surprised, however, to note that he makes no reference to the late W. E. Addis's *Documents of the Hexateuch*, a most valuable and able contribution to the subject.

Now that we have seen the general drift of the whole work, it remains to consider the separate subjects dealt with by the author. We shall thus see that the fullest understanding of the Old Testament is to be attained only by the application of the principle of evolution, the progressive advancement of the human race in the knowledge of God and in His revelation of Himself to man.

Here we may note Sir James's method. In discussing the various subjects he first takes the Biblical narrative as it stands, and then illustrates it by examples of similar legends or practices drawn from every quarter of the globe, in ancient and modern times, among races still in, or just emerging from, the stages of savagery and barbarism. Here it is then that the difference of method between the simple commentator and the skilled anthropologist leaps to view. Formerly, if a story of the Creation or the Flood, for instance, similar to that told in Genesis, were found in Africa or India or Mexico or elsewhere, it was immediately taken as a proof of the inspiration and undoubted historical reliability of the Biblical narrative. Henceforth, we learn, it can be taken only as a proof of the statement that we must expect to find similar phenomena arising from similar circumstances in every race, including the Hebrew; and we do find them.

The first study naturally concerns itself with the story of Creation. The account in Gen. 1 is passed by, as being the work of the latest writer in the Pentateuch, the fruit of the reflection of pious priests during the Exile; though even here Sir James slyly notes that the priestly writer could not entirely detach himself from his environment in Babylon. Accordingly, in describing the creation of man, made male and female ' in the likeness of God ', following on the ' Let us make man in our image ', he hints at a duality of sex in the divine being. It is the earlier Yahwistic narrative (Gen. ii. 4–iii), dating from the time of Hezekiah or earlier, that claims the author's attention. Here Yahweh is by no means the abstract being of the first chapter, but a very concrete being indeed. He takes a lump of clay and having fashioned it into the semblance of a man he breathes upon it and gives it life. The rest of the story is so well known that we need not dwell on it; but a curious point to be noted is that whereas many peoples, like the Greeks, have stories similar to JE, such as, for example, that of Prometheus who is said to have fashioned men out of clay, others, like the native Australians, people at the lowest stage of culture at present existing, have stories of the evolution of man from insects and even plants. This may, no doubt, be due to the system of Totemism on which their social arrangements are based; but in any

case the point is noteworthy, and justifies the author in saying: 'The foregoing examples may serve to illustrate two very different views which primitive man has taken of his own origin. They may be distinguished as the theory of creation and the theory of evolution. . . . Roughly speaking, these two theories still divide the civilized world between them.'

The story of the Fall, well described by Wellhausen as the story of the beginnings of civilization, is analysed into its constituent parts, and shown to have analogies in many races. From the position of the two important trees in the story, and from the forgetfulness of the Tree of Life until the end, scholars have long thought that the Tree of Knowledge belonged to a later insertion. But our author is now able to show, from a comparison of many tales widely diffused throughout the world, how the original story probably ran. It is really a combination of a story of 'The Perverted Message' and of 'The Cast Skin'. It is a primitive endeavour to solve the mystery of death. God meant man to be immortal, and so sent the serpent to him to tell him to eat of the Tree of Life and live for ever. But on the way the serpent bethought himself to pervert the message, and accordingly he persuaded man to eat of the wrong tree and himself ate of the Tree of Immortality.

As regards the Mark of Cain, reasons are given for holding that the theory of the late W. Robertson Smith—that it was a tribal mark such as is common among the Bedouin and many Arab peoples—is not sufficient to account for the emphasis laid upon the sign; nor was it a badge of a Totem clan; rather was it a mark set upon the murderer by Yahweh to 'camouflage' him from the vengeance of his brother's ghost, which would otherwise have haunted and eventually have wreaked revenge upon him.[1]

The story of the Flood takes up a large space—over 250 pages. The Hebrew story as it stands is well known now to be composite. The Prophetical (J) and the Priestly (P) elements, however, are combined in such a way that they are easily disentangled; and both these are shown to be dependent on a Babylonian original—the first being derived from the prehistoric tradition which the ancestors of Israel carried with them when they left

[1] Cf. Chapter IV, p. 41, note 1.

their early home to travel westward, the second being added during the Exile. Flood stories abound from all parts of the world. Most of these are here given in full; but, instead of being taken as evidence of the historic truth of the Biblical narrative, they are shown to be in each case dependent on local conditions, as that narrative also was. The author's conclusion is that some of the stories are partly legendary and partly mythical; some are examples of that class of mythical tales which, with Sir E. B. Tylor, we may call myths of observation, since they are suggested by a true observation of nature, but err in their interpretation of it.[1]

The Tower of Babel is an interesting endeavour to account for the dispersion of the human race and for the divergences of language. Yahweh, as in other primitive stories, is still a sort of superman who, on the report of the impious efforts of men to rival him in power, has to come down to frustrate the attempt. The story depends upon some real reminiscence of the Babylonian *ziggurats*, or Temple Towers, such as that of E-temen-anki at Babylon, now the Mound of Babil.

Of the patriarchal age the author says: 'I see no reason to question, with some modern writers, the historical reality of the great Hebrew patriarchs, though doubtless some of the incidents and details which tradition has recorded concerning them are unhistorical.' In the stories of their days 'it is the pastoral age which the writers of Genesis have depicted with a clearness of outline and a vividness of colouring which time has not dimmed', and 'in this gallery of portraits, painted against a background of quiet landscape, the first place is occupied by the majestic figure of Abraham'.

Of the stories connected with Abraham the only one dealt with is that contained in Gen. xv—the very remarkable legend which tells of the covenant God made with him. The discussion of this is illustrated, as usual, by a description of similar rites among primitive peoples in ancient and modern times; and the ideas that lie at the root of them are shown to be both retributive and purificatory. It is not, however, quite clear how they apply in this particular case; for surely God could neither call down retribution upon Himself if He failed to keep the Cove-

[1] See Peake and Fleure, *Corridors of Time*, vol. iii., 82, 84, 85, 143.

nant, nor could He need purification. The reference to the discovery at Gezer of the upper half of the skeleton of a girl, along with those of fifteeen other skeletons, in a chamber which had been originally a water-cistern before it was converted into a tomb, is apposite as an illustration of the fear in which early man stood of the magic of strangers, and of the variety of ceremonies he resorts to in order to protect himself against it. Incidentally we may note how this fear of the evil magic of strangers still lingers among our own peasantry. For example, in Norfolk and other agricultural districts a stranger is looked upon with the greatest suspicion down to the present day. It will be very interesting if the lower half of the girl's skeleton at Gezer is ever discovered in another quarter of the city; for, in that case, we may suppose that she was really cut in two in order that the people might ' pass between the pieces ', either by way of averting some present or threatened evil, or by way of cementing a solemn treaty of peace.

The studies connected with the life of Jacob take up a large space. His acquiring of the birthright and subsequent deceiving of his father in the matter of obtaining the blessing lead to a most valuable discussion of the origin of ultimogeniture, of what is known in English law as Borough English, and of the true meaning of the much misunderstood custom known as the *jus primae noctis*. To these we can only thus briefly refer. The story of Jacob's marriages and of his serving for a wife yields an answer to the question why cross-cousins, i.e. the children of fathers' sisters or mothers' brothers, may—and, among some primitive peoples, must—marry, while the children of fathers' brothers and mothers' sisters, called somewhat awkwardly by the author ortho-cousins, may never do so; also as to why a younger sister must not marry before her elder. A long and quite relevant discussion is, in the same connexion, devoted to the question of what the author calls ' the sororate ', which is parallel to the well-known custom of the levirate. Furthermore, Jacob served for his wives ; he paid his father-in-law for them, as he paid for his sheep and goats and cattle, by twenty years, in all, of bondage. This is all entirely in agreement with primitive custom, where, as in Australia and elsewhere today, a woman is a valuable commodity and the service which she

can render her father at home must be fully compensated for on her marriage.

In the discussion of Jacob's dream at Bethel and of the covenant made at the cairn between him and Laban, as in that concerning oaks and terebinths, references to which latter run through the whole early history of Israel, we come upon some most interesting explanations of primitive custom with regard to stone- and tree-worship, criticism on which we will reserve for the present. As regards the dream, the author does not make sufficient allowance for the fact that the dreamer was probably familiar, by report and tradition at least, with the Babylonian *ziggurats*, already referred to, which were veritable ' ladders set up between heaven and earth '. The discussion of Jacob's contest with the ' genius of the river ' at the Ford of the Jabbok, read before the British Academy in 1917, throws a welcome light on that subject.

It is impossible to follow our author in all the many subjects with which he deals when he comes to treat of the times of the Judges and Kings. They include the fight of Gideon's three hundred men with the Midianites, Jotham's fable, the story of Samson, and others. In the Samson-saga the national hero appears as a wild swashbuckler and robber, with no reference to his higher qualities. Neither does the author believe, with the late Dr. Smythe Palmer, that the hero was a sort of Hebrew Hercules; nor, notwithstanding his name, which is clearly connected with the sun, that there are traces of an ancient sun-myth in the story. From similar stories in Scotland and elsewhere it is, moreover, well surmised that if we had the Philistine version of the tale the parts would be reversed, and Delilah would be the heroine and Samson the villain of the piece. A large space is given to the story of Saul and the Witch of Endor and the part which a belief in witchcraft has played in the evolution of religion.

How light is thrown on an obscure passage may be seen in the study of 1 Sam. xxv. 29, where, on their first meeting, Nabal's pretty wife, Abigail, pays the susceptible David the compliment of the assurance that, when the souls of his enemies shall be slung out as from the hollow of a sling by the Lord, ' yet the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with the

Lord thy God '. Whatever this may have meant in the mouth of Abigail, and we cannot think that it had much more than a complimentary meaning, it is yet based on a belief, which is found in full force among some primitive peoples to-day, and in which accordingly we may suppose the primitive Israelite to have shared—that is, the belief in the external soul. For example, among the Arunta in Central Australia the belief is held that the soul of each individual is attached to certain sticks or stones called *churinga*. These are tied up in bundles and carefully deposited in certain secret places in the caves in the hills, called *ertnatulunga*, which are so sacred that no woman nor uninitiated youth may approach them; and here they are guarded, for if any evil befall them so will evil befall the persons whose souls they keep in charge. When sometimes they have been stolen by inconsiderate white men, the natives have been known to bewail and lament their loss, as in lamentations for the dead. Thus does present-day Australia illumine ancient Israel.[1]

The short studies devoted to Solomon and to Jonah were hardly worthy of inclusion. In the story of Elijah and the ravens[2] a good deal of irrelevant matter is introduced, and Sir James does not allow for the possibility that the ' ravens ' of the tale were in reality ' Arabians ', i.e. the Bedouin tribes of the desert. In the story of Yahweh and the lions[3] which were sent at his behest to terrify the heathen successors of the Israelites in the Northern kingdom, a very piquant indictment of the use of lions as missionaries occurs.

Under the heading of ' The Law ' there are many most interesting discussions. For example: Why may not a kid be seethed in its mother's milk? This, by the way, we learn was one of the original Ten Commandments. Why was a servant's ear to be bored when he decided that he would not leave his master? This again takes up a large space, and among many interesting illustrations some that are quite irrelevant seem to be included. What is the meaning of the Ordeal of the Bitter Water in Israel? Why was the ox that gored to be put to death? The Priestly writer (Gen. ix. 5 ff.) appears to base the command upon the general principle that ' *whoso* sheds man's blood ', whether man

[1] Compare Chapters II and VI.
[2] 1 Kings xvii. 6.
[3] 2 Kings xvii. 25, 26.

or beast, must be slain; but, according to the earlier writer (Exod. xxi), it is based on the principle that the animal is a responsible being and must be punished accordingly. Illustrations of the application of this principle, from the law-courts of France and elsewhere, even as late as the eighteenth century, form most entertaining reading. Here, too, we may find the origin and explanation of what is called ' Deodand ' in English law. Lastly; Why did the High Priest in Israel wear golden bells on his raiment? A mass of evidence, including a great deal from the beliefs and superstitions of medieval Europe, proves that it was originally intended for the scaring away of demons. This again explains why the bells are rung at weddings and tolled at funerals; and also, we may incidentally remark, it explains why guns were fired off at weddings, a custom which was continued in Norfolk, and perhaps elsewhere, down to quite recent years, and probably has not yet altogether died out.

In drawing our review of this remarkable book to a close, if we be allowed to criticize so widely praised a writer, we would say:

1. He does not attempt to co-ordinate his comparisons; each story is taken separately and stands alone. For example, he does not remark—of course he knows it, but he does not help the uninstructed reader to see it—that at the bottom of all the various customs described lies the root-fact of Animism. Indeed, he never mentions the word.

2. He does not notice the connexion of the Patriarchs with trees, wells and stones, in each case sacred, because (*a*) they were all in the first instance conceived of as animated, and (*b*) became in consequence the abodes of spirits, and, in the Hebrew stories, of Yahweh himself.

3. He leaves on one side all the evidences for Totemism in Israel—such as, to name no others, in the lists of the allowed and prohibited animal foods: for which, indeed, he assigns what the present writer cannot but consider a quite inadequate reason (iii. 160).

The style of the book is marked with all the author's well-known characteristics: lucidity, beauty of phraseology, and just the right use of words; more than that, it is suffused with a poetic afflatus that adds immeasurably to the charm of the writing.

Though the path to tread is long, it is always alluring, and the reader is drawn on as in a ship sailing with a fair wind over summer seas. Many of the descriptive passages are very beautiful; one may read the book through from one end to the other and, by skipping some of the long accounts of similar customs in different parts of the world, he will find it as fascinating as any novel. It is a book that should be in the hands of every clergyman—though it is to be feared that few know enough of anthropology to appreciate it at its full value—and indeed of every teacher of youth.

One further remark must be added. The reader who is unfamiliar with the darker side of folk-lore may be repelled by many of the details which he will come across. Many of the customs of savages are indeed most repulsive; but in all there is a sacramental and mystical significance, if one will only search it out. In these savage customs the ancestors of Israel, as of all races, were reared; but by the time the story-tellers came to write them down they had been purified of their most revolting accompaniments. As thus purified, they lie at the root of many of the rites and ceremonies of the Christian Church. In the recognition of this fact lies their value for the Christian teacher to-day.

CHAPTER XII

THE SWASTIKA

Usual form

Variant

Buddhist

Ankh (Egyptian)

Variant

Ogee

DURING the War of 1914–1918, and since, one remarkable fact may be noticed, viz. the recrudescence of superstition, as evidenced by the intense interest in Spiritualism and the feverish devotion to mascots, charms, amulets, talismans of every description which one finds prevailing on all sides. Even among the sceptical there is a sort of feeling that ' if they do no good they do no harm ', and ' it is better to be on the safe side '.

It is then not out of keeping with the *Zeitgeist* if I invite attention to the oldest and most widespread symbol of all, one indeed conspicuous during the War and since.[1] Moreover, there is fascination in searching out the origin, derivation, and meaning of symbols and symbolic ornament.

It is therefore not surprising that the symbol which is the subject of this chapter has claimed my attention, and it is because I think I have something new to say in regard to it that I venture to bring it before the readers of this book. There is a mass of literature on the subject, and if I dare to add anything to what has been already said, it is because I am not in entire agreement with any of the theories that have been hitherto advanced in explanation of its origin, meaning, and almost universal prevalence.

First, as to the names by which the symbol is known, the following are the most important: (*a*) the Swastika; (*b*) Gam-

[1] It will be remembered that the Swastika was the emblem of the War Savings Association and was to be seen in every omnibus and tramcar. In 1923 it was adopted by Herr Hitzler as the badge of his Bavarian (monarchist) army.

madion; (*c*) Fylfot; (*d*) Hakenkreuz (in German). Of them (*b*) and (*d*) are merely descriptive: Gammadion, because it resembles four Greek gammas joined at the base; Hakenkreuz means simply ' hooked cross '. (*c*) also is little more than descriptive, signifying ' many-footed ', without specifying the number of feet. The remaining term (*a*) alone is in any way explanatory and is the name by which it is known in India and now generally. It is derived from the Sanskrit *Su* (= good), *asti* (= it is), with the substantival affix *ka* added. Thus it means ' It is (a) good (thing) ', i.e. ' Good luck ', or ' May good luck attend you!'

We ask then: Why should this meaning be attached to this particular symbol? And the answer to our question will provide the solution of our problem.

It will be observed that I have spoken of the sign throughout as a ' symbol '. In his book on *The Migration of Symbols*, Count Goblet d'Alviella, although he has devoted many pages to the discussion of the subject as being one of the many ' symbols ' whose ' migrations ' he describes, speaks of it as a ' talisman ', or ' charm ', or ' amulet '.

In this I think he is mistaken. Any one of these is an object in itself, be it pebble or shell, or tooth or claw of animal, or what not, but the Swastika is never, or scarcely ever, found by itself, that is, it is almost invariably used as a mark or sign on other objects; the only exceptions I know are two East Anglian brooches now in the British Museum, which are themselves fashioned in the shape of the Swastika, and of course in modern jewellery and advertisements.

The literature dealing with our subject is, as already stated, very extensive, both as to the countries and localities in which the symbol has been found to be distributed, and the various theories as to its origin. I do not, however, intend to refer to this in detail as it has been fully done by Count Goblet d'Alviella in his *Migration of Symbols*, and by Mr. Thomas Wilson, Curator of the Department of Prehistoric Anthropology, United States National Museum, in his book *The Swastika*, in which a full bibliography up to 1895 may be found. Since then M. Frédéric Houssay's article, ' Les Théories de la Genèse à Mycènes et le Sens zoologique de Certains Symboles du Culte

d'Aphrodite',[1] and Professor Elliot Smith's *Evolution of the Dragon* have appeared, to which further reference will be made.

Count d'Alviella would make Troas the place of origin in or about the thirteenth century B.C., whence he supposes it to have travelled east to India, and thence again to China and Japan in the track of the Buddhists, among whom it is extensively used to-day; westwards he traces it to Greece and Italy, Etruria and the lake-dwellings of Switzerland; and, via the Baltic amber trade routes, to the German and Scandinavian lands by the second century B.C., and thence to Britain. In our own country it is found nowhere save in districts open to and subjected to Scandinavian influence.[2]

Everywhere it is seen on articles of every-day use and common service, on pottery, on tools and implements and weapons, on ornaments and utensils of women, as well as on images of gods and goddesses.

Beginning with Schliemann's third or Burnt City of Troy, the Troy of Priam and the *Iliad*, it abounds on pottery, on spindle-whorls, and in one instance is found on the triangular girdle of a leaden image of a goddess who represents the Great Mother, the prototype of Aphrodite. It is abundant in all the Aegean lands and Etruria, and there are numerous examples in Pompeii, and as late as Early Christian times in the Catacombs of Rome.

It was Dr. Schliemann's discoveries at Hissarlik on the site of Troy and at Mycenae and Tiryns in the eighties of the last century that first brought the subject into prominence, for though it had long been known that the Swastika was a symbol in use in the East it had not hitherto been known, except sporadically, in the Western lands.

Dr. Schliemann gave a full account of his discoveries, which included specimens not only from the third or Burnt City of Troy, but from nearly all the cities on that site, and several remarkable finds at Mycenae and Tiryns. At Troy the Swastika

[1] *Revue Archéologique*, 3e Série, tome XXVI (Jan. 1895).

[2] Speaking of the Swastika at Troy, Dr. Sayce remarked that 'Mr. [now Sir] W. M. Ramsay had copied the dress of the Hittite king sculptured on the rocks of Ibreez in Lycaonia, and that the border of the dress was ornamented with Trojan Swastikas', and adds: 'I thought we should discover that the Trojan Swastika was derived from the Hittites.' It did not occur to him to ask: Whence did the Hittites derive it?

is found, as already stated, on spindle-whorls, in vast numbers, on walls, on the so-called ' owl-faced ' urns, and on pottery—besides the leaden idol of the goddess: at Mycenae it is found on similar objects, and on one of the wonderful gold plates is seen a remarkable representation of the Octopus, in which the body is displayed as a centre to the eight flowing tentacles which form a circle of spirals round it. This is specially noticeable in view of what will be said later. At Tiryns it is found on one or two specimens of pottery, and on the wall paintings. There are in especial some fragments of a beautiful vase on which are depicted two horses facing each other, a man, and between the horses' legs, fishes with lozenges and Swastikas in abundance. The ancient artist, said Dr. Schliemann, had a *horror vacui* and so filled up every space; but it was all done with a magical purpose and for practical ends. This particular specimen links on with an example of Aurignacian art some 30,000 years earlier, from the cave of Lorthet in the Pyrenees, on which we have reindeer with fishes under their bodies, and lozenges, but without the Swastika, which M. Salomon Reinach has described as ' the masterpiece of this phase of art'. In *Ilios*, Professor Max Müller discusses the Swastika with the knowledge available at that date; Professor Sayce in *Troja*, and Dr. Schliemann himself in *Tiryns*, where he says ' the problem is insoluble '. It was in consequence of these discoveries that Mr. R. P. Greg wrote two learned treatises in *Archaeologia*, in which he makes it the symbol of Zeus and sees in it two crossing Z's.[1]

From the lake-dwellings on the Lac de Bourget, in Savoy, belonging to the Bronze Age, come some pieces of plaster with the Swastika stamped upon them, and, more remarkable still, the stamp of earthenware used for impressing the mark on the plaster.[2]

[1] Consult Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*, pp. 348 ff., *Troja*, p. 125, and cf. *Tiryns*, p. 99, in which he mentions ' the excellent work of Robert Philips Greg, *On the Meaning and Origin of the Fylfot and Swastika* (Westminster, 1884) '. There is a remarkable ' Pinax ' in the British Museum (Table-case B. 19) representing the contest of Menelaus over the body of Euphorbus. The ornamentation is elaborate and peculiarly Mycenaean; spirals abound, and besides rayed suns and stars there are two elaborated Swastikas—one of the ogee form, the other in a square turned in upon itself, after the later Greek key pattern. (See *Iliad*, xvii. 100. This Pinax is figured as Frontispiece in Paley's *Homer's Iliad*, vol. ii, 1871.)

[2] Described and figured by Dr. Keller in *Lake Dwellings*.

In connexion with these the translator of Keller remarks on the Swastika in America and says: ' This shows that this peculiar figure must have been used by nations very far apart.'

Dr. Munro, in *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe*, figures a carved piece of wood from Lochlee in Ireland, with the Triskelé on the back—not the Swastika—but the symbolism is the same, and from the same crannog a bronze pin, the head of which shows a Greek Cross on one side and the Swastika on the other.

Stephens (*Handbook to the Runic Monuments*) gives an illustration of a very remarkable stone from Seeland in Denmark, of the ninth or tenth century—on which the runes state that it is ' Kunnalt's ' stone, son of Rubalt, priest—which displays three horns, arranged in the shape of a Triskelé, and a Swastika. The former he calls the mark of Thor, the latter the mark of Woden, but without adducing any proofs. Both, no doubt, represent the idea of eternal life, as will be shown later on.

Mr. Waring (*Ceramic Art of Remote Ages*) devotes a number of pages to the discussion of the Fylfot under the heading *Religious Symbols*, and gives many plates of specimens on pottery, coins, &c., from every locality where it was then known to be found, except America, but arrives at no definite conclusion as to its real significance.

Dr. Montelius (*Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa*) figures an Italian fibula of the first series showing two Swastikas and two crosses; a bronze vase from Sweden, with serpentine spirals in the shape of the Swastika; another similar vessel with a serpentine Swastika in the centre and spirals round, and one from Denmark with a serpentine Triskelé in the centre and spirals round. These are evidently derived from the Mycenaean art circle via the Baltic amber route.

B. Salin (*Altgermanische Thierornamentik*) figures a remarkable sword-hilt found in Kent in the shape of a hut-urn, such as we find in Etruria, derived from the bee-hive graves of Mycenae, with a Swastika occupying the central space of what would be the roof; and also a magnificent fibula from Norway with two rows of Swastikas in the centre of the ornament. These date from the Viking period.

Zmigrodski (*Zur Geschichte der Swastika*) mentions a sculptured stone in Ireland, which shows on the face of it ' three

varieties of the Cross—a Greek cross in a circle, a Swastika turned to the right in a square, and an ogee Swastika in a quatrefoil'. This would show its association in Christian times with the symbolism of the cross and wheel, and links on to similar ecclesiastical monuments, of which there exists an example at Rudham, in Norfolk. This is a coffin slab of the thirteenth century, and on it we find the wheel-cross at the head and foot, and in the centre the double omega, the thunderbolt of Jove, symbolizing that the Church wields the judgement power of Heaven. There are many similar examples elsewhere belonging to Church dignitaries; this one covered the coffin of a prior of the Austin priory of Coxford in the parish of Rudham.

In *The Arts in Early England*, vols. iii and iv, *Saxon Art and Industry in the Pagan Period*, Professor Baldwin Brown describes all, and figures most of the examples to be found in our country. These are entirely funerary objects found in Saxon cemeteries, and consist of cinerary urns, fibulae and brooches, belts, buckles, &c., chiefly from the Scandinavian districts.

Among the fibulae there is an interesting specimen from Mildenhall, Suffolk, which displays four birds' heads arranged in a Swastika pattern. Mr. Reginald Smith, he tells us, signalizes this as one of the earliest pieces of Teutonic work in this country, but like the bird fibulae generally it comes from the Gothic East by way of Hungary, and dates from between 550 and 600 A.D. On the same plate are the two Swastika brooches with the device in openwork, which might be called amulets, now in the British Museum, as stated above.[1]

On three of the metal plates of a belt, the surfaces of which are turned, from the Bifrons cemetery (in the Maidstone museum), the Swastika ornament is in evidence. In the British Museum may be seen a disk fibula from a cemetery at Faversham, Kent, which exhibits both the Cross and the Swastika in its design.

From Sleaford, Lincs., came a fibula marked with the Swastika, and we may note a cast bronze medallion found with the Lullingstone Bowl, which displays three fishes intertwined in triquetral pattern, reminding us of the connexion between the Swastika and the arms of Sicily and the Isle of Man.

One magnificent cinerary urn from Shropham in Norfolk, now

[1] Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, vol. iii, p. 281, Plate XLVIII, 3.

in the British Museum, is ornamented with a line of Swastikas turned to the left; in reference to this Professor Baldwin Brown makes some remarks which I am persuaded are altogether too derogatory to the mystic significance of the symbol. He writes:

On the Shropham urn appears the swastika or fylfot, an equal-armed cross with the ends bent at right angles towards the side, a device which some writers invest with mystic symbolism of an awe-inspiring kind. To the present writer the appearance of this device on Teutonic pottery or objects of metal is so casual that he attaches no more significance to it than to its occurrence on old Greek painted vases of the 'Melian' class, where it is obviously [?] nothing but a fragment of a broken-up key-pattern ornament.[1] It may be frankly admitted here that the writer regards with considerable indifference the attempts that are sometimes made to read abstruse symbolism into the decorative devices found on objects of the migration period. Wherever a simple explanation of these devices on an aesthetic basis appears plausible, it has in these chapters been preferred to one of a recondite kind. The morphology, the art, the technique of the objects in question offer so much of interest and of difficulty that it will be well not to complicate the treatment of them by indulging in speculations as to possible meanings for the devices that they bear.[2]

The Professor may be right from the standpoint which he has immediately in view, but the student of origins and of human psychology is not satisfied, and we ask: *Why* should the Swastika be found on cinerary urns and on ornaments, weapons, or implements, buried with the deceased? and further, is there any added significance in the turning of the arms to the left? We must dig deeper if we would understand the hidden springs of action and conduct, and we shall find the answer to both questions; for the Swastika is one of a vast number of symbols having magical significance, and it divides the world with the Egyptian *Ankh*, known as the symbol of Life.

[1] 'On the other hand Mr. R. P. Greg, quoted by Dr. Schliemann, says: 'It may have been, not improbably, the origin of the Greek fret or meander pattern.' Mr. Wilson denies any connexion either way.

[2] G. Baldwin Brown, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 497.

CHAPTER XIII

THE SWASTIKA (*continued*)

SOME years ago, I made a study of Cup and Ring markings—another symbol universally prevalent among primitive people from Neolithic times—and I concluded that the symbol was due to the fact that under similar conditions, that is in a similar environment and at a corresponding stage of evolution, man's ideas correspond and are naturally expressed in the same manner.[1] So I conceive it to be also in the case of the Swastika. The theory then that I would suggest in view of the fact that it is found in so many localities, including America and West Africa (Ashanti?), is that this is due not to migration but to the spontaneous evolution of the idea among races far apart at a similar stage of development.

Of course this does not imply the negation of all migration, but merely that the fact of its being found in America and elsewhere does not imply that it was brought *there* by immigration. This would explain, for example, its recent discovery at Susa, on proto-Elamite pottery, a locality quite off the line of migration, an isolated and sporadic case, the earliest known, but no doubt derived from the same root ideas. This explains also the American examples. I cannot agree with Professor Elliot Smith and others of the modern school in imagining, for instance, any prehistoric communication between Egypt and Mexico, and, as we have seen, the symbol does not occur anywhere in Egypt —except on *Greek* pottery at Naucratis—nor in the Semitic lands. Theories should not be run to extremes, and the pan-Egyptianism of W. J. Perry in *The Children of the Sun*, 1923, cannot be substantiated.

In this regard I confess my agreement with Professor Max Müller, when he says: 'We forget too easily that what was possible in one place was possible also in other places; and the more we extend our researches, the more we shall learn that the

[1] See my articles, 'Cup- and Ring-Markings', in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xli (1911); and in *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iv. In these I claim to have solved the problem of their origin and meaning, so far as this is possible on the available evidence.

chapter of accidents is longer than we imagine'; only instead of saying ' accidents ' I would contend that the evolution of ideas follows the same orderly course in this instance as in others.[1]

As to the meaning of the symbol, almost all writers refer it to the Sun in one way or another. For instance, the late Mr. W. Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, says: 'The mystical emblem of the Swastika which appears to represent the Sun in his journey through the heavens is of constant occurrence.' It is also referred to Fire, which is connected with the Sun. Some have seen in the two intertwining lines a representation of the two fire-sticks of primitive man; but this, I think, is far-fetched. In India it symbolizes Vishnu in one of his many transformations; in Scandinavia it represents Woden or Thor and his hammer. It is found in China on images of the Buddha, in Greece on a statue of Apollo, who represents the Sun, and, as we saw, at Troy on the leaden idol representing the Great Mother. But of this I shall speak more particularly when I come to develop my own theory, which is in fact a synthesis of the preceding.

Mr. Crooke, speaking of ' the use of special charms, of which the number is legion', says:

Many of them merge into the special preservatives against the Evil Eye. . . . Thus the bazaar merchant writes the words *Ram! Ram!* several times near his door, or he makes a representation of the Sun and Moon, or a rude image of Ganesa, the godling of good luck, or draws the mystical Swastika.

A house of a banker at Kankhal which I recently examined bore a whole gallery of pictures round it [just as in Algeria and other Mohammedan lands the Hand of Fatima is displayed over the door or somewhere on the front of the house]. . . .

In the Punjab the Jand tree is very generally reverenced. . . . It is commonly selected . . . to mark the abode or shelter the shrine of some deity. [To it rags and other objects are dedicated.] A custom prevails in some families of never putting home-made clothes upon the children, but of begging them from friends. This is to avoid the Evil Eye. The ceremony of putting on these clothes is usually performed when the child is three years of age. It is taken to the Jand tree, from which a bough is cut with a sickle, and planted at the root as a propitiation of the indwelling spirit. The Swastika

[1] Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*, p. 349.

symbol is made before it with the flour, rice, and sugar, brought as an offering to the tree. A thread from the *Mauli* is then tied round the tree and another round a piece of dried molasses, which is placed on the Swastika.[1]

In the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. iii, p. 445, 'Charms and Amulets (Indian)', the same W. Crooke, speaking of the Swastika and referring to the literature of the subject, says:

It appears on the early Iron Age pottery of S. India. At the present day it is drawn on textile fabrics, on religious and domestic utensils, on representations of the footprints of Buddha and other Divine and saintly personages, and on the opening pages of account-books, &c., where it is believed to be a charm against all evil influences. In the normal form the arms bend to the right; in Buddhism they are always bent in the respectful attitude, i.e. towards the left.

And further, as regards the use in Buddhism, Mr. Bateson (*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. 412) says:

As the person of the Northern Buddhist is protected by charms, so is his house. Near the door a prayer-pole is erected, or prayer-flags flutter on the roof . . . a white and blue *Swastika*, surmounted by sacred symbols, is drawn upon the doorway.

Mr. Crooke's statement as to 'the respectful attitude' explains why the swastika on the Apollo (*vide supra*) is drawn to the left; but in western lands this form represents always 'ill luck'.[2]

Mr. Wilson's book is so full and exhaustive that I can do no more than refer to it. He appears to think it possible that the Swastika may have been introduced into America by migration, but how or when he leaves quite vague. He states that among the American Indians it represents fire, water, the sun, the sky, the four winds, and numerous other phenomena, and hints that like the intertwining serpents in Egypt it *may* represent Eternity, but he does not develop the theme; and he concludes with the statement that being used on articles of common daily use it probably everywhere signified 'Good Luck!' But he does not

[1] Crooke, *op. cit.*, i. 11, 160; ii. 101; abridged.

[2] We are told that the late unhappy Empress of Russia, who was of a particularly superstitious turn of mind, had covered the walls of the room which she occupied at Ekaterinburg with Swastikas, as a protective mascot; but unfortunately, or inadvertently, they were all turned to the left. Thus, as some would say, she brought 'ill-luck' upon herself and her family.

inquire *why*, and he thinks it may often have been merely a conventional ornament.

In its ogee, or even in the more usual square form, we may also see the idea of the intertwining serpents—the symbol of Eternity. This has ever been associated with the Sun—as in Egypt we find Osiris and Set, Ra and Hathor, placed the one over against the other.

Mr. Oldham has developed this theme in *Sun and Serpent Worship*, in which he goes fully into the question of the Naga or Cobra worshippers of India, and adduces proofs of the pre-Aryan Naga invasions and conquest of the country. In the *Mahabharata* we find Krishna pointing out ' the place where dwelt of old . . . the *Naga Swastika* and that other excellent Naga called Mani '. [1]

Before going further we will consider some of the theories as to its derivation. These are as various as those regarding its meaning.

Mr. Goodyear, quoted by Montelius,[2] derives it from the Lotus ornament of Egypt in a series of close arguments—but this is put out of court by the consideration that the Egyptians never employed this symbol.

Herr Karl v. d. Steiner, quoted by Hoernes in *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*, derives it from the legs of the stork, as he derives the Triskelé, the three legs which are the arms of the Isle of Man, from the legs of the cock—and this is plausible, when we consider the wonderful way in which the Alligator became conventionalized into four crossing lines as described by Mr. Holmes in his account of the Chiriqui, or the similar transformation of all sorts of birds and animals in Scandinavian, Teutonic, and Byzantine ornamentations, as described by Salin (*op. cit.*), Baldwin Brown, and the writers on Late Celtic and Irish and Anglo-Saxon work.

Baldwin Brown, as we have seen, would make it merely the breakdown of the Greek fret-ornament. A French writer, already referred to, M. Houssay, with whom Elliot Smith would appear to agree, having regard rather to the carved than to the linear representations, derives it, at least in the Aegean lands, from

[1] Oldham, *op. cit.*, 55.

[2] W. H. Goodyear, *The Grammar of the Lotus* (1891).

whence it was carried to the lake-dwellings of Switzerland, and the Teutonic and Scandinavian lands, from the branching feelers or tentacles of the Octopus, and this is possible in the countries bordering the Mediterranean, but nowhere else.[1] Indeed, the problem as to the source from which the idea was derived will probably never be solved. It may have been any or all of these, one here and another there. Its derivation is after all of minor importance.

What, then, is the root idea which lies at the base of the symbol and which gives it its significance? All that we have mentioned is locally applicable; what is the universal idea conveyed by it, giving it its magical and universal import?

The answer to this question, I believe, consists in the one word ' life ', and though other writers have envisaged various aspects of the subject, I venture to think that in its full development the theory which I now put forward is original and conclusive. It is the principle of Life—Life mysterious, inexplicable in its origin, its continuance, and its apparent ending, or at least its passing from this sphere—that solves the riddle.

Man finds himself here, and he knows he is alive. He sees other living things, in the air, in the seas and streams, and on the earth all around him; he endows with life all the objects—sun, moon, stars, the earth itself, the mountains, the rocks and the stones, the waters, whether in fountain and well, or running stream or sea—in the midst of which he lives: and the trees and plants too, he knows they are alive; they whisper in the evening breeze, speak in the gale; and the lightning and thunder as well — they are the living fire and voice of beings alive and unseen whose presence fills his soul with awe and a mysterious sense of his own littleness in face of the unknown and the sublime. In a word, Animism is the key which unlocks the mystery that unfolds the early thought of man as he looks out upon the world.

And all these various objects persist from year to year and from age to age, except those that seem most like himself. These beasts and creeping creatures of the earth, birds of the air, denizens of the waters, sicken and grow old and die; his own

[1] Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, pp. 173–8.

fellows do the like. But he does not want to die; he feels it is unnatural ; he would live on. How can he accomplish this?

The idea of the unnaturalness of death is well exemplified by the thought of the Australian natives and similar primitives. They believe that death is never due to natural causes, but is ever the result of violence, or of some evil magic, which they would avert if they could. They find that when they slay any living thing or a fellow-man, a red fluid exudes. In this, then, they cry, resides the life. Let the Elixir of Life be discovered and we shall live for ever. And not only is it true that (in their thought of themselves) they think all men mortal but themselves, but this principle of sympathetic or homoeopathic magic teaches them that if they can find some corresponding medium to the mysterious life-fluid, and the still more mysterious secret of the entry upon life, they will have found the Elixir for which they are searching.

But further, it is the Earth herself that is the source of life as they know it. She is the Great Mother whence all life springs, and the Sun is only the sustainer and evoker of life, derived from her. This belief we find universally present in one shape or another. It took its most definite form in Egypt, in Asia Minor, and in Mesopotamia; and so we have Isis and Horus, Cybele and Attis, Astarte and Merodach, everywhere the Great Mother of all the gods and of all life, and her Son, a belief which we find enshrined at length in the Virgin and Child of Christianity.

But, as Elliot Smith puts it, the Great Mother has her surrogates, and the life-fluid its appropriate representative. Thus in Aurignacian graves we find the corpse reposing surrounded by cowry shells, whose shape tells of the mysterious womb whence life springs, and smeared with red ochre, representing the life-fluid; and these ensure immortality to the soul which has abandoned its mortal body. The Lotus, from its shape, was another surrogate of the Great Mother, so was the Octopus, and there is no doubt that the so-called ' owl-shaped ' vases at Troy and Mycenae on which the Swastika is so extensively found were representations of the Octopus, not the Owl, nor human faces with two eyes, a nose, and no mouth.

In seeking then an explanation of the Swastika I would suggest that it represents ' Eternal Life as the fruit of Immortal

Love'. Just as the Egyptians had the *Ankh*, the form of which displays the union of the male and female principles as the source of life, so the intersecting lines of the Swastika carry the same idea. It may be debased to a purely phallic symbol, and indeed some writers see the phallus in all forms of ancient and modern non-Christian beliefs, for there is no doubt that in its origin it is the mystery of the generation of life that first strikes primitive man, but I prefer to lift it, at least in its later development and use, to a higher plane. In the first instance probably the Swastika may have represented the course of the sun in the heavens revolving normally from left to right. We can see the wheel revolving as we look at it. It is the wheel of life in which we are all involved—the revolving years—the *anni labentes*—and the thought conveyed by the symbol is 'May your wheel of life revolve for ever.' It is the same wish that was ceremoniously uttered in the presence of eastern autocrats: 'O King, live for ever!' Hence the Sanskrit name which means 'Good luck', and the Chinese *Wan* meaning 'many a thousand' comes to the same thing.[1] So, as I have said, the meaning of the symbol, its migrations, its upspringing in isolated localities, and its prevalence wherever the *Ankh* was unknown, is all explained by the thought of Life—the fruit of Love—Immortal Love, the equivalent of Eternal Life.

The poets, the prophets, the exponents of the aspirations of the race, who express for us in words what the majority of us can only convey by symbol, are the true interpreters.

Let me remind you of a few. First, a poem apparently on the physical plane but which mystically belongs to the higher, spiritual sphere.

The fountains mingle with the river
And the rivers with the ocean,
The winds of heaven mix for ever
With a sweet emotion;
Nothing in the world is single,
All things by a law divine
In one another's being mingle—
Why not I with thine?

[1] In Japan this equals 10,000, symbolizing that which is perfect, excellent, employed as a sign of felicity. De Millvué, *Le Swastika*, Soc. Anthr. Lyon, 1881 (quoted by d'Alviella).

See the mountains kiss high heaven,
And the waves clasp one another;
No sister-flower would be forgiven
If it disdained its brother:
And the sunlight clasps the earth,
And the moonbeams kiss the sea:
What are all these kissings worth,
If thou kiss not me? SHELLEY.

Or again:

Let me not to the marriage of true minds
Admit impediments. Love is not love
Which alters when it alteration finds,
Or bends with the remover to remove:—
O no! It is an ever-fixed mark
That looks on tempests, and is never shaken;
It is the star to every wandering bark
Whose worth's unknown, altho' his height be taken.
Love's not Time's fool, tho' rosy lips and cheeks
Within his bending sickle's compass come:
Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,
But bears it out even to the edge of Doom;
If this be error, and upon me proved,
I never writ, nor no man ever loved. SHAKESPEARE.

Or again, as we see the wheel revolving slowly at first, but gaining ever increased momentum as it continues its course, 'spinning down the grooves of time':

The more we live, more brief appear
Our life's succeeding stages:
A day to childhood seems a year,
And years like passing ages.

. . . . .

Heaven gives our years of fading strength
Indemnifying fleetness;
And those of youth a seeming length,
Proportioned to their sweetness. CAMPBELL.

Until at last we exclaim:

O World! O Life! O Time!
On whose last steps I climb,

Trembling at that where I had stood before;
When will return the glory of your prime?
No more—O never more! SHELLEY.

Well for us if we can say with Mrs. Barbauld:

Life! I know not what thou art,
But know that thou and I must part;
And when, or how, or where we met
I own to me 's a secret yet.

Life! we've been long together
Through pleasant and through cloudy weather;
'Tis hard to part when friends are dear;
Perhaps 'twill cost a sigh, a tear;
Then steal away, give little warning,
Choose thine own time—
Say not Good Night,—but in some brighter clime
Bid me Good Morning.

And, with the greatest Poet and Preacher of them all, him whom we call St. John, who said: God is Love, and he that dwelleth in Love dwelleth in God and God in him (1 John iv. 16); and who put into the mouth of the Christ in His High Priestly prayer (John xvii. 3) the pregnant words: This is Eternal Life: to know Thee the only True God, and Jesus Christ Whom Thou hast sent.

Thus what was originally a heathen emblem, as we call it, the offspring of man's wonderment at the mysteries of Nature, and which has by some, not altogether unreasonably, been supposed to be the 'mark of the beast' of the Book of Revelation, may also be the 'mark' placed on the foreheads of the faithful of Ezekiel ix. 4, and has so become consecrated to the highest Christian use and significance, as we see it in the Catacombs and on the Grave Slab from Ireland. In the same way the old heathen inscription on a house—a magic charm—was transfigured and transformed into a Christian aspiration:[1]

(*a*) 'Here lives the All-Powerful Herakles, the son of Zeus; may no evil enter!'

(*b*) 'Here lives our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son, the Word of God; may no evil enter!'

[1] *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, iii. 439.

But the Cross conquered in Christianity, and the Swastika is now a symbol of the Buddhist faith.[1]

[1] Since I wrote the above, Mynheer H. Van Kol, of the Hague, has forwarded me an interesting study by himself of 'The Swastika', which he contributed to an Amsterdam periodical. In it he describes fully the widespread prevalence of the symbol and explains it as meaning 'good luck', but does not go into the question as to why that symbol should have been devised to bear that meaning.

Mr. Donald A. Mackenzie, author of *Ancient Man in Britain*, published in 1926 *The Migration of Symbols, their relation to Beliefs & Customs* (Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.) in which he follows closely the lines of Count Goblet d'Alviella's book with the same title; the first symbol discussed is the Swastika, but he adds nothing new, and does not attempt to treat of its origin or meaning as is done here

In Dr. David Randall-MacIver's *The Iron Age in Italy* (Oxford, 1927) is figured a painted amphora from S. Alve, 'earlier than 700 B.C.', on which are depicted two Swastikas with arms turning to the left as on the Apollo referred to above. This illustrates the wide distribution of what afterwards became the normal Buddhist form. This amphora is described by the author as 'very characteristic and important'.

CHAPTER XIV

RELIGIOUS DANCES

THE subject of Religious Dances is a vast one; it is only to one aspect of it that we can confine our attention in this and the following chapter, namely to the dance as an expression of devotion to a dead ancestor or more immediate predecessor, who having been, perhaps, the chief of a tribe or clan, or at the least in some sort a leader of men, is on the way to become a hero, and, as such, assumes in most instances and among primitive peoples the character of a god.

This at once cuts out all such examples of the dance as an expression of religious emotion as are presented by the Dancing Dervishes among the followers of Mohammed, although in many instances these may actually be held in commemoration and in honour of a dead saint—such as those, for example, performed among the Yezīdīs, who now form the inhabitants of what was once Assyria and live among the ruins of Nineveh in the neighbourhood of Mosul, of which a graphic account is given in Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*.

The following is the account of the festival of Sheikh Adi abridged from Layard: About an hour after sunset Cawal Yusuf summoned us to the inner yard or sanctuary of the temple, where the Cawals, Sheikhs, Fakirs, and principal chiefs were already assembled. Their long robes were all of the purest white. As they walked slowly round, sometimes stopping, then resuming their measured step, they chanted prayers in honour of the Deity. The Cawals accompanied the chant with their flutes, beating at intervals the tambourines. Round the burning lamp, and within the circle formed by the procession, danced the Fakirs in their black dresses, with solemn pace timed to the music, raïsing and swinging to and fro their arms after the fashion of eastern dancers, and placing themselves in attitudes not less decorous than elegant. To hymns in praise of the Deity succeeded others in honour of Melek Isa (that is, King Jesus) and Sheikh Adi. The ceremony was brought to a close by all present giving one another the kiss of peace. Here, then, we

have what we are looking for, though it is not the primary object of the dance.

All religious dances engaged in by eccentric followers of Christianity in some of its many phases are also cut out, as, for example, those of the Shakers, of whom there was a flourishing community in the New Forest which I knew in my boyhood; and those of the followers of Rasputin, the notorious Russian monk whose influence over the Tzarina eventually led to the ruin of Russia and its imperial family.

Of the former we are told: Their worship consists in singing, in solo and harmony, hymns, anthems, and improvised songs, called ' gift songs '; quick and slow marches, two abreast, in ranks and circles, sometimes timing with the hands to the measure, sometimes in solemn dances in ranks or circles, and occasionally interchangeably, but always each sex grouped by itself; also prayers and sermons. Of the latter I read an account written shortly before his assassination: At eight o'clock at night, when the stars were shining in the heavens—Rasputin poetically calls them ' the eyes of the Supreme Being '—the chief and his followers people the woods that surround Pokrovskoie, Rasputin's native town. An enormous hole is made in the ground while Rasputin invokes divine protection. The hole is filled with logs and leaves, which the prophet ignites, offering a prayer to St. Michael. Oriental perfumes burn in a small *cassolette*. Gregory throws handfuls of incense on the pyre, from which issue columns of smoke. Men and women seek each other's hands in the growing darkness and are soon turning madly in a circle around the perfumed hearth. Little by little the rhythm and the dance are accelerated. ' Sin for salvation! '[1] chants Rasputin. ' We sin for salvation! ' repeat the adepts. At length the ' faithful ' grow giddy. Occasionally one slips and falls, dragging others with him. ' Rise, my brethren,' commands the high priest, ' you have still to suffer.' And the dance continues quicker, ever quicker. But the last embers have died out. Darkness sudenly encompasses this mad throng, and

[1] This was Rasputin's ' New Gospel '; it reminds one of Luther's *Pecca fortiter*; the idea being ' that the greater the sin, the more is God's pardoning grace magnified'. Compare, in the Holy Week offices of the Roman Church: 'O felix culpa qui tantum et talem meruit habere redemptorem.'

at length the folly is over. The sacrilegious blessing of Rasputin closes the ceremony.

Such was Rasputin's form of worship, if it can be called so; but, as we shall see in the case of the ' Seises ' at Seville, to be dealt with later, there is here, too, the notion of honour paid to a dead hero—though the service is unspeakably blasphemous—there is, in fact, at the back of it the thought of the commemoration of the dead Christ, who is yet alive again.

For the earliest known examples of the dance, in all probability too as an element in the ritual of the dead, we ascend to the fountain-head of our race in mid-Palaeolithic times, under the guidance of the discoveries of recent years—discoveries most wonderful and most unexpected. Sir Arthur Evans gave some account of these in his Presidential Address before the British Association at Newcastle in 1916, and what follows is taken from that address.

After describing his own discoveries in prehistoric Crete and others elsewhere, Sir Arthur continues:

> A new and far more remote vista has opened out in recent years, and it is not too much to say that a wholly new standpoint has been gained from which to survey the early history of the human race. The investigations of a brilliant band of prehistoric archaeologists, with the aid of representatives of the sister sciences of Geology and Palaeontology, have brought together such a mass of striking materials as to place the evolution of human art and appliances in the last Quaternary Period on a far higher level than had even been suspected previously.

After mentioning some of those to whom we are more particularly indebted for these discoveries, such as Lartet, Cartailhac, Boule, the Abbé Breuil and others, he continues: ' To the engraved and sculptured works of Man in the " Reindeer Period " we have now to add . . . whole galleries of painted designs on the walls of caverns and rock-shelters.' I have referred to these marvellous specimens of prehistoric art more fully in the fifth chapter of this book. What I want to come to here is the fact that one by one, as Sir Arthur says, characteristics both spiritual and material that had been formerly thought to be the special marks of later ages have been shown to go back to that earlier world.

I myself [he says] can never forget the impression produced on me as a privileged spectator of a freshly uncovered interment in one of the Balzi Rossi Caves—an impression subsequently confirmed by other experiences of similar discoveries in these caves,[1] which together first supplied the concordant testimony of an elaborate cult of the dead on the part of Aurignacian Man. Tall skeletons of the highly developed Cro-Magnon type lay beside or above their hearths, and protected by great stones from roving beasts. Flint knives and bone javelins had been placed within reach of their hands, chaplets and necklaces of sea-shells, fish-vertebrae, and studs of carved bone had decked their persons. With these had been set lumps of iron peroxide, the red stains of which appeared on skulls and bones, so that they might make a fitting show in the Under-world.

Colours, too, to paint his body,
Place within his hand,
That he glisten, bright and ruddy,
In the Spirit-Land!
(SCHILLER, *Nadowessier's Todtenlied*.)

And now comes the point that more especially concerns us here:

Nor is it only in this cult of the departed that we trace the dawn of religious practices in that older world. At Cogul[2] we may now survey the ritual dance of nine skirted women round a male satyr-like figure of short stature, while at Alpera a gowned sister ministrant holds up what has all the appearance of being a small idol. . . .

For the first time the art of Man is here rich in human subjects:

At Cogul the sacral dance is performed by women clad from the waist downwards in well-cut gowns, while in a rock shelter of Alpera, where we meet with the same skirted ladies, their dress is supplemented by flying sashes. On the rock painting of the Cueva de la Vieja, near the same place, women are seen with still longer gowns rising to their bosoms. We are already a long way from Eve!

We may note the same curiously 'modern' style of dress in the women depicted on the wall-paintings engaged in the sacred dance of the Minotaur in the Palace of Knossos in Crete, as also in the statuettes and figurines from the same locality, many of which may be seen to-day in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

[1] That is, in the caves of Altamira, where the finest examples of prehistoric art in the shape of magnificent representations of the bison and other animals are found, and in those of Marsoulas in the Haute-Garonne, and of Font de Gaume in the Dordogne. See Chapter V.

[2] Altamira, Alpera, Cogul, and the Cueva de la Vieja are all in Spain.

The dance is indeed the most primitive and the most universal expression of human emotion; we find it associated alike with joy and sorrow. Of the former there is more than one well-known example in the Old Testament. It is only necessary to allude to the grand Song contained in the fifteenth chapter of the Book of Exodus, which was sung by Miriam and the maidens of Israel after the passage of the Red Sea, to the accompaniment of 'tabrets and dances'. Other examples are the songs and dances with which the maidens met David after the slaughter of the Philistines, when the jealousy of Saul was aroused by the refrain: 'Saul hath slain his thousands, and David his ten thousands'; and again we remember how David himself took part in a religious dance of joy when the Ark of God was brought up from Kirjath Jearim, and how he incurred thereby the contemptuous scorn of his wife Michal, the daughter of Saul; and yet again, as an illustration of the universality of the dance as an expression of joy, we remember how on another occasion David fell upon the Amalekites and routed them when 'they were spread abroad upon all the earth, eating and drinking, and dancing, because of all the great spoil they had taken out of the land of the Philistines, and out of the land of Judah'.[1]

Many examples might be given, did space permit, of the dance as an expression of joy among primitive peoples; we will refer only to the rude dances that are held by the native Australians on the occasion of the *intichiuma*, or initiation-ceremonies, which take place when youths pass the boundary line which separates boyhood from manhood. Dances of a similar kind are found in Africa and Asia, and indeed the world over, among primitive peoples, and survive among the civilized races in the form of folk-dances, such as the May-day dances and those held on other festivals among ourselves.

Full descriptions of all these will be found in Sir J. G. Frazer's encyclopaedic work, *The Golden Bough*, and need not further detain us here. They have for the most part nearly died out in this sophisticated age, but the ghosts of them remain to give us world-weary mortals some idea of the more free and joyous life of the past.

As an element in our modern life the dance exists as an expres-

[1] 1 Sam. xviii. 7; 2 Sam. vi. 16; 1 Sam. xxx. 16.

sion of the emotion of pleasure to which young people look forward as a happy opportunity for meeting one another; and, although the proverb tells us that 'marriages are made in Heaven', it is probable that the potent influence of the ball-room is responsible for a vast number of unions for good or ill.

But it is with the dance as the expression of the emotion of sorrow and remembrance that we are more particularly concerned in this study. This aspect predominates, and is specially connected with funeral rites and ceremonies and those that are held in memory of the departed. And this brings us right up against the question of the origin of religion and of religious ceremonies.

It has been said that 'Animism is the seed of religion'; and this is true, as all students of Sir E. B. Tylor will admit, in the sense in which he uses the word 'Animism', or the doctrine of souls. Primitive man, conscious that he himself possessed a soul or souls,[1]—a conviction attained whether through the phenomena of dreams or by a subconscious process of intuition—ascribes a similar possession to all the objects of Nature in the midst of which he finds himself placed. It is easy to understand this in the case of living things, like animals and birds, or even in the case of things which have life, though of a different kind (such as trees and plants), or motion (such as streams and the like); it is more difficult to understand in the case of inanimate objects, such as rocks and stones and so forth. But even the latter were also supposed to be alive, and therefore to be possessed of souls. In fact man, conscious of his own life, endowed the world in which he found himself and everything in it with life and with the unseen but potent source of life—the soul. Thus, the sun and moon and stars in the heavens, the earth and all things on it were to him living beings; the sound of the waves breaking on the shore, the murmur of the stream, the rustling of the wind in the trees were to him the voices of beings like himself, with which he could enter into relationship, and

[1] For the ancient Egyptians were not the only race who endowed the human being with more than one soul,—such as the Ka, or soul that had its habitation in the tomb, and the Ba, or bird-soul, that winged its way to the unseen world; many African races add to these the shadow-soul and the soul that leaves the body in dreams and returns when the sleeper wakes. See Chapter VIII.

which, ere religion taught him to pray, he could control by magic arts, sympathetic or otherwise.[1]

But more: death was unnatural. When man or beast or bird or other living thing seemed to die, the change was wrought, as the Australian natives believe, by evil magic, and the seeming corpse or carcass still survived in the shape of the soul which continued to haunt the place of interment. To use the Egyptian phraseology, though the Ba might fly away to some unknown region in Amenti, the west, to the land of the unseen, the Ka had its abode where the body was buried. If this was the case with animals or ordinary mortals, how much more was it so in the case of the barrow or tumulus where some great chief or mighty hero was interred! Hence arose the worship of the dead.

As perhaps it is unnecessary to say, we are here brought up against the question of the origin of the gods and goddesses of antiquity. Shortly before his death the late Sir William Ridgeway published two books, *The Origin of Greek Tragedy* and *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races*, in which he finds the drama to be a development of the dances and religious festivals held at the tombs of heroes, who in the past were real human beings who had left their mark on their generation and in process of time became gods.

Before passing on to notice this theory, which to my mind has much to recommend it, we must observe that it is opposed to two other theories; one of these had great vogue in the latter part of the last century, through the influence of the great name of Max Müller in England; and the other finds its expression in the works of Dietrich and others in Germany, and of Professor Murray, Miss Harrison, and others in England, under the guidance of Sir J. G. Frazer and *The Golden Bough*. The origin of the drama we leave on one side: we inquire only whether there is evidence to show that the fact of religious dances bespeaks the reality of the existence as a human being of the hero or god in whose honour they were held.

The first of the two theories just alluded to is known as the 'solar myth' theory. This theory supposes that Zeus, or Jupiter, and the rest of the Greek and Roman pantheon (these gods being themselves derived from the primitive Aryan mytho-

[1] See previous chapter.

logy of the Vedas, &c.), are mere expressions of the phenomena of Nature—the Dawn, the Thunder-cloud, the Lightning-flash, and so on. This conception, which undoubtedly has some elements of truth in it, was pushed to extremes and received its *reductio ad absurdum* when Sir Alfred Lyall, the great authority on Indian religions, proved, by employing its methods, that Professor Max Müller himself was nothing but a 'solar myth'!

The second, with which the name of Sir J. G. Frazer is beyond any other associated, is that known as the 'vegetation' theory. In this theory all such stories as those of Adonis, Attis or Osiris, or Demeter seeking her lost daughter in the underworld, or Dionysos and his troop of satyrs, are nothing else than methods of expressing the labours of the revolving year and the endeavours of mankind to promote the growth of the corn and vine and other vegetable products so necessary to their existence. Here again the data lend themselves to the conclusion that there is an element of truth in the deductions made, but it is only a partial truth and by no means the whole. No one will deny, and myself least of all, for I have learnt too much from him, the immensity of the labours and the usefulness as a mine of information of the great work of Sir J. G. Frazer; but he and his followers, Miss Harrison and the rest, have allowed themselves to be obsessed by their theory, and in the end one may say 'they can hardly see the wood for the trees'.

Sir William Ridgeway, on the other hand, works on the principle that in the history of human thought 'the concrete precedes the abstract'; that a wife mourned her dead husband, a mother her son, before they would lament the imaginary sorrows of a 'vegetable'—'corn' or 'maize' or 'vine'—spirit; that, for example, as he puts it, a concrete 'Captain Boycott' must always precede the abstract verb 'to boycott'.

In this connexion we may refer to the ceremonies associated with the dead among primitive peoples, of which a very full account is given in Sir J. G. Frazer's Gifford Lectures on *The Belief in Immortality, and the Worship of the Dead*, of which the first three volumes are now published, dealing with the Australian natives and those of the islands in the Torres Straits, New Guinea, Melanesia, and Polynesia. In almost all, if not all, of these we find that dances of one kind or another

make up the chief part of the ceremonial. Our first illustration shall be taken from the Torres Straits, where the funeral ceremonies were numerous and elaborate and present some features of special interest. The obsequies differed somewhat from each other in the east and west, but they had two characteristics in common: first, the skulls of the dead were commonly preserved apart from the bodies and were consulted as oracles; and, second, the ghosts of the recently deceased were represented in dramatic ceremonies by masked men, who mimicked the gait and gestures of the departed, and were thought by the women and children to be the very ghosts themselves. The great funeral ceremony, or rather death-dance, of the western islanders took place in the island of Pulu. When the time came for it, a few men would meet and make the necessary preparations. The ceremony was always performed on the sacred or ceremonial ground (*kwod*); and the first thing to do was to enclose the ground, for the sake of privacy, with a screen of mats hung on a framework of wood and bamboos. When the screen had been erected, the drums which were to be used by the orchestra were placed in position beside it. Then the relatives were summoned to attend the performance. The ceremony might be performed for a number of deceased people at once; and it varied in importance and elaboration according to the number and importance of the deceased whose obsequies were being celebrated. The head-dresses or leafy masks worn by the actors in the sacred drama were made secretly in the bush; no woman or uninitiated man might witness the operation. When all was ready, and the people were assembled, the men stationed in front and the women and children in the background, the disguised actors appeared on the scene and played the part of the dead, each one of them mimicking the gait and actions of the particular man or woman whom he personated; for all the parts were played by men, no woman might act in these ceremonies. The order in which the various ghosts were to appear on the scene was arranged beforehand; so that when the actors came forward from behind the screen the spectators knew which of the dead they were supposed to have before them. The performers usually danced in pairs, and vanished behind the screen when their dance was finished. Thus one pair would follow another till the play was over. Besides the

actors who played the serious and solemn part of the dead, there was usually a clown who skipped about and cut capers, tumbling down and getting up again, to make the spectators laugh and so to relieve the strain on their emotions, which were deeply stirred by this dance of death. The beat of the drums proclaimed that the sacred drama was at an end. Then followed a great feast.

As to the intention of these curious dramatic performances, remarks Sir J. G. Frazer, we have no very definite information. Dr. Haddon says: 'The idea evidently was to convey to the mourners the assurance that the ghost was alive and that in the person of the dancer he visited his friends; the assurance of his life after death comforted the bereaved ones.' [1]

In the eastern islands of the Torres Straits the funeral ceremonies seem to have been even more numerous and elaborate. The full account is too long to quote and has most of the features already described, but we may note that after the first two 'acts' of what we may call the 'drama' had been performed, in which dancing held a large share, the corpse was taken up by the mourners, who with weeping and wailing laid it on a wooden framework resting on four posts at a little distance from the house of the deceased, and offerings of blood and hair were made to the dead; when the body had remained a few days on the stage in the open air, steps were taken to convert it into a mummy. When it had remained some time, perhaps four or six months, on the scaffold, and the process of mummification was far advanced, a dance of death was held to celebrate the final departure of the spirit for its long home. Several men, seldom exceeding four in number, were chosen to act the part of ghosts, including the ghost of him or her in whose honour the performance was specially held. About a dozen men were chosen to act as a sort of chorus, and these stood in line opposite the mummy; beyond them stood the drummers, and beyond these the audience crowded on the beach. The drummers struck up, whereupon a shrill whistle in the forest announced the approach of a ghost, and the subdued excitement among the spectators was intense. Meantime the chorus, holding each others' hands, advanced sidelong towards the mummy with strange gestures, and a dialogue ensued between the chorus and the ghosts till all

[1] *Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits*, v. 256.

the latter had answered to their names. This dance took place after darkness had fallen and was the first act of the drama, so to say. Next morning the second act was performed; the actors impersonating the deceased advanced in order, one by one; if a man was personated the actor held a bow in one hand and an arrow in the other, and his costume was the usual dress of a dancer, with the addition of a head-dress of leaves and feathers and a diamond-shaped ornament of bamboo, which he held in his teeth and which entirely concealed his features. He approached dancing and mimicking the gestures of the person whom he represented. At the sight the women wailed, and the widow would cry out, 'That's my husband', the mother would cry out, 'That's my son', while the drummers called out, 'Ah! Ah! Ai! Ai!'—at which the women would fall to the ground, and the dancer retreated into the forest. In this way one ghost after another would make his appearance, play his part, and vanish. Occasionally two of them would appear and dance together. The women and children, we are told, really believed that the actors were the ghosts of their dead kinsfolk. When the first dancer had thus danced before the people, he advanced with the drummers towards the framework on which the mummy was stretched, and there he repeated his dance before it. But the people were not allowed to witness this mystery; they remained wailing on the beach, for this was the moment at which the ghost of the dead man or woman was supposed to be departing for ever to the land of shades.

Sir J. G. Frazer sums up the evidence by saying that if these beliefs and practices do not amount to a worship of the dead, they at least contain the elements out of which such a worship might easily have been developed; and he adds: 'In this connexion we are reminded of Sir William Ridgeway's theory that ancient Greek tragedy originated in commemorative songs and dances performed at the tomb for the purpose of pleasing and propitiating the mighty dead,' though he feels obliged to add yet further the caution that the mortuary dramas of these islanders can hardly 'be adduced to support that theory by analogy so long as we are ignorant of the precise significance which the natives themselves attached to these remarkable performances'.

Among the Papuans, or natives of New Guinea, we have

many illustrations of the same class of beliefs and practices; I will only refer to them so far as they relate to dances in honour of the dead, and omit all other parts of the ceremonial. The Mafulu, of British New Guinea, are accustomed to celebrate great feasts at intervals of perhaps fifteen or twenty years, and at these the skulls and leg- and arm-bones of chiefs, their wives, and other members of their families, which have been preserved, play a prominent part. Great preparations are made for such a celebration. A series of tall posts, one for each household in the particular village concerned, is erected in the open space which intervenes between the two rows of the village houses. Yams and taro are fastened to the upper parts of the posts; and below them are hung in circles the skulls and arm- and leg-bones of dead chiefs, their wives, and kinsfolk. Any skulls and bones that remain over when all the posts have been thus decorated are placed on a platform, which has either served for the exposure of a chief's corpse or has been specially erected for the purpose of the festival. At a given moment of the ceremony the chief of the clan cuts down the props which support the platform, so that the skulls and bones roll on the ground. These are picked up and afterwards distributed, along with some of the bones and skulls from the posts, by the chief of the clan to the more important of the invited guests, who wear them as ornaments on their arms in a great dance. None but certain of the male guests take part in the dance; the villagers themselves merely look on. All the dancers are arrayed in full dancing costume, including heavy head-dresses of feathers, and they carry drums and spears, sometimes also clubs or adzes. The dance lasts the whole night. When it is over the skulls and bones are hung up again on the tall posts. This is the only clear indication of ancestor-worship among this people.

In the island of Tumleo, off the coast of what was German New Guinea, and in the neighbouring islands and on the mainland, a remarkable feature consists of the *paraks* or temples, the high gables of which may be seen rising above the bushes in all the villages of this part of the coast. No such buildings exist elsewhere in this region. They are set apart for the worship of certain guardian spirits, and on them the native lavishes all the resources of his elementary arts of sculpture and painting.

They are built of wood in two stories and raised on piles besides. The approach is by ladders provided on both sides with handrails or banisters elaborately decorated with carving always of the same pattern. One banister is invariably carved in the shape of a crocodile holding a grotesque human figure in its jaws, while the animal's tail is grasped by one or more human figures. The other banister regularly exhibits a row of human or rather ape-like effigies seated one behind the other, each of them resting his arms on the shoulders of the figure in front. Different from these temples are the *alols*, which are bachelors' houses and council-houses in one. Like the temples they are raised above the ground and approached by a ladder, but unlike the temples they have only one story. In them the unmarried men live and the married men meet to take counsel and to speak of things which may not be mentioned before women. On a small stand or table in each of these *alols* are kept the skulls of dead men, and as the *parak* is devoted to the worship of spirits, so the *alol* is the place where the dead ancestors are worshipped. The bones are kept and used as ornaments or as means to work magic with. For the dead are often invoked, for example, to lay the wind or for other useful purposes; and at such invocations the bones play a part. The spirits of the dead are also feared as the causes of sickness and disease, in which the ghosts are thought to be clinging to the body of the sufferer, and they can only be induced to let go by incantations and magic rites. If unfortunately the patient should die, elaborate funeral rites are performed to assist the ghost on his way to the other world and a widow remains in seclusion till he has reached it—it may be a few weeks or even as long as three months. The people think that if they stand on a good footing with the souls of the departed and with other spirits, these powerful beings will bring them good luck in trade and on their voyages. Accordingly, when the monsoon is departing and the wind is shifting from the stormy north-west to the balmy south-east, the natives set to work to win their favour by repairing the temples and club-houses, and these repairs are the occasion of a festival accompanied by dances and games, followed by a feast in the evening. Whether the guardian spirits or goddesses, who are worshipped in the temples, were originally conceived of as ancestral spirits,

like those invoked in the *alols*, or not, must be left an open question for the present.

Among the Tamos, of Astrolabe Bay, who are a settled agricultural people dwelling in fixed villages, the soul after death is believed to go to *buka kure*, the village ghosts, somewhere in the earth, which the natives speak of with a shudder. When death has taken place, the corpse is first exposed on a scaffold in front of the house, where it is decked with ornaments and surrounded with flowers. Then the notes of a horn are heard in the distance at the sound of which all the women rush away. Soon the horn-blower appears, paints the corpse white and red, crowns it with great red hibiscus roses, then blows his horn and vanishes. He is a member of a secret society, called *Asa*, to which only men belong; the most important of its ceremonies is that of the initiation of the young men, who are then circumcised, and feasts are held, and masked dances are danced to the accompaniment of instrumental music. Dances are not mentioned here in actual connexion with the funeral ceremonies.

Another tribe in German New Guinea called the Tamis believe that every man has two souls, a long one and a short one. The long soul is identified with the shadow. It is only loosely attached to its owner, wandering away from his body in sleep and returning to it when he wakes with a start. The seat of the long soul is in the stomach. When the man dies, the long soul leaves his body and appears to his relations at a distance, who thus first know of his decease, after which it departs to a village on the north coast, whose inhabitants recognize the Tami ghosts as they flit past. The short soul, on the other hand, never leaves the body in life but only after death. Even then it tarries for a time in the neighbourhood of the body before it takes its departure for Lamboam, the abode of the dead in the nether world. We are reminded here of the Egyptian belief in the Ba, or bird soul, which flew away to the land of the dead in Amenti, and the Ka, or spirit which remained with the mummified corpse in the tomb, referred to above; and still more forcibly of the belief of the West African negroes described by Miss Mary Kingsley, though these primitive philosophers have still further refined matters, and believe in four souls as appertaining to

each individual: these are (1) the soul that survives, (2) the soul that lives in an animal away in the bush, (3) the shadow cast by the body—here we have our Tami belief—and (4) the soul that acts in dreams.[1] The Tami bury their dead in shallow graves under or near the houses, and make offerings to the deceased which serve a double purpose: they form the nucleus of the dead man's property in the far country, and they ensure him a friendly reception on his arrival. The whole village takes part in the mourning for a death. The women dance death dances, the men lend a hand in the preparations for the burial. A watch is kept at the grave for eight days, while the period of mourning lasts two or three years. At the end of the time dances take place in honour of the deceased. They begin in the evening and last all night till daybreak; they begin with a gravity appropriate to a memorial of the dead, but towards the close the performers indulge in a lighter vein and act comic pieces, which so tickle the spectators, that many of them roll on the ground with laughter. With these dances, pantomimes, and offerings the living have discharged the last duties of respect and affection to the dead. Yet for a while his ghost is thought to linger as a domestic or household spirit; but the time comes when he is wholly forgotten.

In some parts of Dutch New Guinea the inhabitants make *karwar* or wooden images of their dead ancestors. These are kept in shrines in which their ancestors are believed to reside. On festal occasions they are brought forth and the people dance round them to music. This worship of the dead, represented by wooden images and lodged in miniature houses, is, together with a belief in good and bad spirits, the only thing deserving the name of religion that can be detected among these people. Among the natives of Windessi, in Dutch New Guinea, the so-called festival of the dead takes place a year or more after the death has occurred. From far and near the people have collected sago, coco-nuts, and other food. For two nights and a day they dance and sing, but without the accompaniment of drums and gongs. At the end of the period of mourning all signs of it are thrown away and a dance on the beach follows, at which new wooden images of the dead make

[1] See Chapter VIII, p. 80.

their appearance. Still the drums and gongs are silent. Dancing and singing go on till the next morning, when the whole of the ceremonies come to an end.

In New Britain the corpse is usually buried the next morning after death has taken place. A hole is dug in the house and the body deposited in it in a crouched or sitting posture. This is the only instance I have come across of this method of burial among modern savages, and it reminds us of the custom of the Neolithic people of prehistoric times—so well described by Andrew Lang:

> He buried his dead with his toes
> Tuck'd up—a peculiar plan—
> Till his knees came right under his nose;
> 'Twas the method of primitive man.[1]

In this case, however, the upper part of the corpse is left projecting from the grave, and is covered with a tower-like structure of basketwork, stuffed with banana leaves. Some while afterwards the soul of the deceased is driven away. The people collect together and beat the walls of the house, shake the posts, set fire to dry coco-nut leaves, and finally rush out into the paths. At that moment, so the people think, the soul of the dead quits the hut. When the flesh of the corpse is quite decayed, the bones are taken from the grave, sewn in leaves, and hung up. Soon afterwards a funeral feast is held, at which men and women

[1] This method of burial, as has been often remarked by biologists and anthropologists, reproduces in fact the position of the unborn child in its mother's womb, whence it emerges to life on earth; so primitive man, we may suppose, buries his dead in this position in Mother Earth in the sure hope of a rebirth at some future time to a fuller life beyond the grave. This is no fancy, but a testimony to the existence of aspirations to which no animal has ever attained and which in man are coincident with his earliest evolution.

An interesting parallel to the custom cited from New Britain is found in the island of Lifu, one of the Loyalty Islands in the eastern Pacific. There, we are told, 'in many cases burial took place in a grave dug in the ground, and the body was then usually bent with the knees up to the chest', but for this peculiar reason, that 'this was thought to prevent the deceased person from coming out of the grave and wandering about. On the burial of a maker of thunder, lightning, and rain, his body was placed in a sitting posture in the ground near his usual bathing-place. Large flowers were placed in the ears and nostrils, which were cut in order to facilitate the escape of his spirit' (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xlvii, p. 288).

dance.[1] These examples will suffice for the Papuans, Melanesians, and peoples of the Pacific generally.

In the next chapter we shall pass on to take an illustration from the Todas, one of the most primitive peoples of the Indian peninsula. Here again we find dances engaged in as part of the funeral ceremonies, and at the grave, and, as before, we are entitled to take them as a testimony to the real earthly life of the departed.

[1] Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, vol. i, pp. 176 ff., 189, 198 ff., 218 ff., 291 ff., 319, 399.

CHAPTER XV

RELIGIOUS DANCES (*continued*)

AMONG the Todas, an aboriginal race of Southern India whose customs have received a most thorough investigation at the hands of Mr. W. H. R. Rivers, late President of the Royal Anthropological Institute, dances form an integral part of the funeral ceremonies. We must remember that the Todas are pre-eminently a pastoral people, dependent on the milk of their herds for their livelihood, and that the ritual of their religion largely consists of ceremonies connected with the dairy. Consequently, the most important part of the funeral ceremonial consists in the killing of buffaloes—as a rule one specially designated for the purpose—following on which Mr. Rivers's description continues thus:

After the buffalo is killed dancing takes place at the funeral of a male. The men only dance and they may begin soon after the killing of the buffalo, while other ceremonies are still in progress. In the dancing the same tall pole (*tadri* or *tadrsi*) is used as is carried by the Teivali man who wears the cloak of the *narskedr*. It is a tall pole which, it was said, might sometimes be as much as 39 feet in length. I only saw a *tadri* at one funeral, when it was much smaller. It is decorated with rings of cowries, which are called *nîrpul*, the ornaments in general being called *tadri asteram*. The pole is procured from Malabar through the Kurumbas [one of two wild dwarfish tribes (the other is known as the Irulas) inhabiting the jungle on the slopes of the hills]. It is used at the funeral of males only, of both the *Teivaliol* and *Tartharol*, and is burnt at the end of the *azaramkedr* [the meaning of this latter word will appear further on].

In the only dance which I had the opportunity of seeing the men danced within the circular wall surrounding the funeral hut. In this case the floor of the enclosure was below the general level of the ground. The men formed a circle and danced round in slow step; one man said the name of the slaughtered buffalo—in this case, *Purkirsi*—and another repeated this name; then the first man said 'hau! hau!' which was repeated by the second man. After a time one of the men took the *tadri* and they danced round in a similar way, taking the pole with them as they danced (i.e. they did not dance round the pole).

After the dancing is over, food is distributed to all the people present and most return to their homes, while the remainder wait at the funeral place till the following morning, when are held the final ceremonies, which are known as the *azaramkedr*.

This is the name applied to the ceremonies connected with the final burning of the remains and burial of the ashes: *kedr* meaning the funeral, and *azaram* the circle of stones in which the ashes are buried; but as this does not concern our subject we will leave it here.

At a funeral witnessed by Mr. Thurston the proceedings lasted two days, and on the second day they began in the middle of the day with more dances, singing, and feasting. 'The only dancing I saw', says Mr. Rivers, 'was at a funeral and it was of the simplest possible description, the men who took part forming a circle and moving slowly round and round.'[1]

Among the tribes settled on the southern shore of New South Wales there is a very interesting ceremony representing the drama of death and resurrection at the initiation of youths, which consists of mimetic actions and dances, as described below:

Among the tribes settled on the southern coast of New South Wales, of which the Coast Murring tribe may be regarded as typical, the drama of resurrection from the dead was exhibited in a graphic form to the novices at initiation. Before they were privileged to witness this edifying spectacle they had been raised to the dignity of manhood by an old man who promoted them to their new status by the simple process of knocking out a tooth from the mouth of each with the help of a wooden hammer and chisel. The ceremony of the resurrection has been described for us in detail by an eye-witness, the late Dr. A. W. Howitt, one of the best authorities on the customs of the Australian aborigines. The scene selected for the sacred drama was the bottom of a deep valley, where a sluggish stream wound through a bed of tall sharp-edged sedge. Though the hour was between ten and eleven o'clock in the morning, the sun had but just peeped over the mountains which enclosed the valley like a wall on the east; and while the upper slopes, clothed with a forest of tall rowan trees, looked warm and bright in sunshine, which shot

[1] W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas*, pp. 378, 601.

between the grey stems and under the light feathery foliage of the trees, all the bottom of the dell was still in deep shadow and dank with the moisture of the night's rain. While the novices rested and warmed themselves at a crackling fire, the initiated men laid their heads together, prepared a stock of decorations made of stringy bark, and dug a grave. There was some discussion as to the shape of it, but the man who was to be buried in it decided the question by declaring that he would be laid in it on his back at full length. He was a man of the eagle-hawk totem and belonged to the tribal subdivision called Yibai. So while two men were digging the grave, he superintended the costume of the other actors in the drama. Six performers were clothed in sheets of bark beaten out into fleeces of stringy fibre from head to foot so that not even a glimpse could be obtained of their faces. Four of them were tied together by a cord; the other two walked free, but hobbled along bent double with tottery steps to mark the weight of years; for they played the part of two medicine-men of venerable age and great magical power. By this time the grave was ready, and the eagle-hawk man stretched himself in it at full length on a bed of leaves, his head resting on a rolled-up blanket, just as if he were a corpse. In his two hands, crossed on his chest, he held the stem of a young tree which had been pulled up by the roots and now stood planted on his chest, so that the top of it rose several feet above the level of the ground. All being now ready, the novices were led by their sisters' husbands to the grave and placed in a row beside it, while a singer, perched on the trunk of a fallen tree at the head of the grave, crooned a melancholy ditty, the song of Yibai. Then to the slow, plaintive, but well-marked air of the song the actors began to move forward, winding among the trees, logs, and rocks. On came the four disguised men, stepping in time to the music, swaying from side to side, and clashing their bark clappers together at every step, while beside them hobbled the two old men keeping a little aloof to mark their superior dignity. They represented a party of medicine-men, guided by two reverend seniors, who had come on pilgrimage to the grave of a brother medicine-man, him of the eagle-hawk totem, who lay buried here in the lonely valley. When the little procession, chanting an invocation to Daramulun, had de-

filed from among the rocks and trees into the open, it drew up on the side of the grave opposite to the novices, the two old men taking up a position to the rear of the dancers. For some time the dance and song went on till the tree that seemed to grow from the grave began to quiver. 'Look there!' cried the sisters' husbands to the novices, pointing to the trembling leaves. As they looked, the tree quivered more and more, then was violently agitated and fell to the ground, while amid the excited dancing of the dancers and the chanting of the tuneful choir the supposed dead man spurned from him the superincumbent mass of leaves and sticks, and springing to his feet danced his magic dance in the grave itself, and exhibited in his mouth the magic substances which he was supposed to have received from Daramulun in person.[1]

A similar drama of death and resurrection, with the accompaniment of songs and dances, took place in Fiji, with the addition of a sacramental meal of food and water at the close of the performance. I refer to these in order to connect the ideas of the most primitive of peoples with those in a considerably higher stage of culture. For a full account of the Fijian culture and beliefs I must refer to Sir J. G. Frazer's *Belief in Immortality* (i. 406 ff.). As their funeral ceremonies do not appear to have been accompanied with dances it is beyond our present scope to enlarge on them.

If we take the ceremonies belonging to the Eleusinian mysteries, to the Dionysiac drama, to the mourning for Adonis or Osiris, we find the same thing everywhere—namely that, when we go to the root of the matter, there is always the pre-existing dead ancestor, chief, or hero, who may often develop into a god, in the background.

Omitting the cases of Osiris and of Krishna, on which Sir William Ridgeway has much to say, I would draw attention to his account of the ceremonies connected with the annual festival held in Persia and in many parts of India to commemorate the deaths of Hassan and Hussein, the sons of Ali, the cousin of the prophet Mohammed, to illustrate this point. So potent are the arguments that even Sir J. G. Frazer himself is constrained to confess, in the case of Osiris, that 'under the mythical pall

[1] Howitt, *Native Tribes of S.E. Australia*, 534 ff.

of the glorified Osiris, the god who died and rose again from the dead, there once lay the body of a dead man'.[1]

As every one is aware, the Mohammedan world is divided into two main sects which hate each other bitterly: the *Sunnis*, or orthodox, and the *Shiah*, who derived their name from *shiah*, a faction or party, i.e. the faction or party of Ali and Fatima, and their sons Hassan and Hussein, who form the theme of the famous Passion-Play which is practically co-extensive with the Shiah form of Islam from India to North Africa. Ali was the first cousin of Mohammed, and Fatima, his wife, was the daughter of the Prophet by Kadijah, his favourite wife. After the Prophet's death the succession to the Caliphate was disputed but at length Hassan the elder son of Ali obtained it; he, however, was poisoned in the year 668, having held it for about eight years. Hussein, his brother, took up arms against Yezid, who had been chosen to succeed, but was finally defeated and slain after untold sufferings at the battle of Kerbela, in 680—the third and crowning tragedy in the house of the Prophet.

It is this tragedy that is commemorated yearly in the month of Muharram by the Shiah sect, above all in Persia and India. The Passion-Play consists of a sequence of scenes illustrative of the history, and is accompanied by models of the tombs of Hassan and Hussein, called *taziyah*, and by a procession of mournful dancers.

A full account will be found in Sir William Ridgeway's *Dramatic Dances*, and his conclusion is:

Who will deny that Muhammad, Ali, Fatima, Hassan, and Hussein are as historical as Thomas à Becket, Charlemagne, Julius Caesar, or Jesus of Nazareth? But it may be said that the Martyr of Kerbela is enshrouded in the haze of mysticism. Yet does not the same hold true of Jesus of Nazareth, whose historical reality no sceptic can deny?[2]

Just as in the modern Passion-Play of Ober-Ammergau it is the essential reality and humanity of Christ that draws out the devotion of the faithful, so is it with the Martyr of Kerbela and his worshippers. Hussein is no Vegetation spirit or Daemon of the Year, but a mortal man who lived, suffered, and died in A.D. 680.

[1] Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, and Osiris*, 3rd ed., vol. i, Preface, p. ix; cf. vol. ii, 159–60. Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, pp. 62, 119.

[2] In saying this Sir William has forgotten for the moment the criticisms of Drews and his school, who do deny the historical reality of Jesus; but I suppose he thought their criticisms negligible.

As the final act in the Passion-Play, the principal actors kneel together on the stage. Then the selected preacher for the day comes forward to make his final appeal to the people. His theme is the Passion of Hussein. Every detail of the suffering is lingered over, every incident causes a fresh outburst of weeping. Instead of the cross it is the desert waste and the parching thirst. Instead of the disciples mourning it is the children and the holy women. Instead of the Mater Dolorosa of Christendom it is the Mater Dolorosa of Islam. Mary and Fatima suffer the same pangs over their dying sons. Hussein is the gate of Paradise; Hussein sustains the world.

If it be urged that the Muharram celebration is a Vegetation ceremony held in spring to revive vegetation, or at midwinter or midsummer to resuscitate or prolong the energies of the Sun-god, it is sufficient to point out that as the Mohammedan calendar is lunar, the month Muharram is in no wise attached to any particular season of the year, as it most assuredly would have been if its origin had been bound up with any such Vegetation festivals.

A most interesting survival of the same strain of thought is to be found in the continued existence of the ' Seises ', or dances by the choirboys in the cathedral at Seville held in honour of Christ and the Madonna; there would be no meaning in the ceremony unless Christ had really lived, and incidentally it is a collateral proof of the truth of His life and death, and of the belief in His resurrection.

At a wealthy Roman's funeral, immediately after the *praeficae* or hired ' keeners ', in some cases followed dancers and mimes who jested freely, while mourners wearing masks representing the ancestors of the deceased took part in the procession. Thus the ancestors of the dead man, accompanied with songs and dances, escorted him to the family tomb. But it was not merely at the actual obsequies that chariot-races, dances, and other more or less dramatic performances took place. In life the dead may have loved the dance and been honoured with dances, as David was by the Hebrew women on his return from the overthrow of the Philistines; and, as we ascribe to our gods our own feelings, dances are held in honour of them. Thus David himself danced before the Lord when he brought back the Ark,

as mentioned above. Let not the critic say that such practices are not Aryan, for, as Mrs. Villiers Wardell[1] writes:

None is so supremely interesting as the dances before the High Altar of the boys known as the Seises. These dances take place every year on the three days of the Carnival: at the Feast of Corpus Christi, and during the octave of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin in December. The dances take place at the foot of the High Altar and are accompanied by a stringed orchestra and by the organ. The boys —ten in number—wear pages' costumes of the period of Philip III.

An eye-witness, quoted in Ridgeway's book, describing the dances, writes :

I went to the cathedral expecting to be shocked, and got quite close to the chancel rails. To my great astonishment I saw boys dance a beautiful minuet, and somehow or other, hypnotized by the motion and music, I lost count of time and everything else. It was a wonderful experience. There was not a trace of frivolity in the performance, and the whole *mise-en-scène* was most impressive.

One story is worth repeating. When the Pope, some centuries ago, wished to suppress all religious dances in churches, he was asked to permit the Seises (there were originally six dancers) to continue. He issued a bull saying they should continue until their clothes were worn out. The canons still always put a patch of the old garment on the new, and in this way obey the order of His Holiness. I may add, perhaps, that my friend the late Mrs. Wintle Johnston wrote to me afterwards in this connexion:

' A friend has given me a very interesting account of these dances, which he witnessed in the Cathedral at Seville, and said they were very graceful'; and he added a variant of the story told above, namely ' that many years ago some people tried to put the dances down, and complained to the bishop, who referred to the Pope; that thereupon the Pope ordered them to be performed in his presence '—this seems hardly possible, but the story goes on—' he then said he observed nothing to object to, and as it was a very ancient custom he proposed that the dances should be continued till the clothes the performers were then wearing were worn out, when they should cease. So the lovely clothes were taken care of and patched and patched, and the dances still go on in the same clothes, though probably by now not one shred of the original is left.'

Just as the dance of the ' Seises ' in the cathedral at Seville

[1] *Spain of the Spanish* (1909), p. 231.

is held in honour of one who is believed really to have lived and died and risen again from the dead, and may be taken as an evidence of the fact, so the celebrations in honour of Osiris, of Hassan and Hussein, of Dionysus, of Krishna, and many another may be taken as evidence that each and all were really living men before they became heroes and gods, though of these Osiris is the only one who was actually believed, in ancient Egypt, to have risen again.

As Sir William Ridgeway well puts it:

> Miss Harrison and her partners argue that behind Dionysus [for example] there was never any human reality, but that the god was only the result of the group-thinking of his *thiasos* of Satyr daimons and Maenads. Yet they might as well argue that neither Dominic, nor Francis of Assisi, nor Muhammad, nor Christ himself ever existed, but that they are the mere ' projections ' of the ' group-thinking ' of the Dominicans, Franciscans, Muhammadans, and Christians respectively. Nay, they might as well maintain that the German Kaiser has no material existence, but is a mere ' projection ' of the ' group-thinking ' of his *thiasos* of Prussian Guards.

The chief element in the Shinto religion in Japan is the dramatic dance held in honour of the spirits of the dead. The story of Uzume, which is too long to permit of transcription here, makes this quite clear. Uzume is regarded as the first ancestress of the *Sarume*, who were primarily women who performed the comic dances (*sarumahi*, or monkey-dances) in honour of the gods. They are mentioned along with the Nakatomi and Imbi as taking part in the festival of the firstfruits and other Shinto ceremonies. ' These dances ', says Mr. Aston, ' were the origin of the *kagura* and *no* performances.' As being inspired by the spirits of the departed the Sarume are known as Miko, the Virgin priestesses, who dance at Shinto festivals. ' It may not be going too far ', says Sir William Ridgeway, 'to suggest that as the actors in sacred Hindu plays are regularly Brahmans, because the actors represent the gods, and are the gods for the time, they are a sort of modified mediums, a character much more emphatic in the case of the dancing dervishes who play such an important part in the Shiah side of Islam. With these examples we may correlate the boys who still dance in the cathedral of Seville in honour of the Corpus Christi and the

Madonna, whilst we probably have another case of the same principle in the Sicilian belief that Santa Venera dances in Paradise before Jesus. All alike seem to spring from the widespread custom of pleasing living kings and other great personages by dancing before them, and from the natural extension of this custom to heroic personages and divinities.' And he goes on to instance the examples of Miriam, David, Salome, &c., referred to above.

In the poem of Beowulf and in the history of the Goths we have full descriptions of the ceremonies held at the time of the death and burial of Beowulf and Attila respectively. But there is no lack of evidence that in many places periodic festivals were held at the graves of departed heroes.

We may compare the annual celebration of games and dances held in co. Cork, in Ireland, down to the present day beside the barrow which hides the bones of a departed Irish chieftain as evidence of the same truth, viz. that religious dances bespeak the real life as mortal man of the hero or god in whose honour they are held.

Again I quote from Ridgeway[1]:

> In a lonely spot in County Cork there is a little ancient Irish *liss* or fort with a single circular rampart in perfect preservation; just outside the entrance stands a barrow known through endless generations as the ' Hillock of the Fair '. Here until some forty years ago there was an annual gathering of the country folk for a fair, and foot-races were run alongside of the mound. Then the landlord had the fair transferred to a village some four miles distant . . . and it practically died out. Then came a road contractor who thought the barrow would supply good cheap material for the roads. He laid ruthless hands on [it] and soon brought to light a fine cromlech. . . . In the cist were found a bronze sword and other objects.

Thus the reason for the annual foot-races was made clear.

In Part VI of *The Golden Bough*, ' The Scapegoat ', will be found a long description of the mystery-play consisting of dramatic representations and dances held annually at Zela in honour of Semiramis, the great Queen, on which Sir J. G. Frazer remarks:

> We can hardly doubt that the mythical Semiramis is substantially a form of Ishtar or Astarte, the great Semitic goddess of love

[1] *The Origin of Tragedy*, pp. 35, 36.

and fertility; and . . . here at the great sanctuary of the goddess in Zela it appears that her myth was regularly translated into action; the story of her love and the death of her divine lover was performed year by year as a sort of mystery-play by men and women who lived for a season and sometimes died in the character of the visionary beings whom they personated.

And he continues:

The intention of these sacred dramas, we may be sure, was neither to amuse nor to instruct an idle audience, [nor] . . . to gratify the actors. They were solemn rites which mimicked the doings of divine beings, because man fancied that by such mimicry he was able to arrogate to himself the divine functions and to exercise them for the good of his fellows. The operations of nature, to his thinking, were carried on by mythical personages very like himself; and if he could only assimilate himself to them completely he would be able to wield all their powers. This is probably the original motive of most religious dramas or mysteries among rude peoples.

Now, without denying the truth that all the rites and ceremonies of primitive peoples were intended for practical purposes, it is allowable for us to argue that, just as, on the analogy of the passion-play of Hassan and Hussein, which deals with the real tragedy of undoubted historical personages, Ridgeway contends for the historicity of Osiris and Dionysus and Krishna and many another whom the 'Solar-Myth' and 'Vegetation' schools would resolve into pure myth; and just as the 'Seises' and their dance at Seville may be taken as evidence of the historical truth of the story of Christ—so the existence of these celebrations in honour of Semiramis are evidence that she had a real existence as a human being and in all probability was a great Queen, such as the legend makes her, before she was raised to the status of a goddess of Nature with magical powers.

The same argument holds good for the story of Minos and the Minotaur, Theseus and Ariadne, and the tribute of seven youths and seven maidens which the Athenians had to send to Minos every eight years. Whatever may be the value of Sir J. G. Frazer's contention that in many parts of the world and among primitive folk to-day, like the people of Uganda, the king's power had to be renewed at stated intervals, seven, eight, ten or other number of years, yet here again modern discovery

shows that the old story is based upon fact and deals with real persons.

Since the researches of Sir Arthur Evans in Crete we know that Minos was a real king, ruling an empire founded on sea-power much like our own, and the probability is that having overcome Athens he claimed these young people as tributes in lieu of money for the purpose of some religious rite—probably, as Sir J. G. Frazer thinks, for human sacrifice after the analogy of the Phoenician and Carthaginian sacrifices to Moloch—and the abduction of Ariadne by the hero Theseus commemorates an historic fact. But this is what concerns us:

Perhaps the youths and maidens who were sent across the sea to Cnossus had to perform certain religious duties before they were cast into the fiery furnace. The same cunning artist Daedalus who planned the labyrinth and contrived the wooden cow for Pasiphae was said to have made a dance for Ariadne, daughter of Minos. It represented youths and maidens dancing in ranks, the youths armed with golden swords, the maidens crowned with garlands. Moreover, when Theseus landed with Ariadne in Delos on his return from Crete, he and the young companions whom he had rescued from the Minotaur are said to have danced a mazy dance in imitation of the intricate windings of the labyrinth.... These traditions suggest that the youths and maidens who were sent to Cnossus had to dance in the labyrinth before they were sacrificed to the bull-headed image. At all events there are good grounds for thinking that there was a famous dance which the ancients regularly associated with the Cretan labyrinth.

Among the Romans that dance appears to have been known from the earliest times by the name of Troy or the Game of Troy. Tradition ran that it was imported into Italy by Aeneas, who transmitted it through his son Ascanius to the Alban kings, who in their turn handed it down to the Romans. It was performed by bands of armed youths on horseback. Virgil compares their complicated evolutions to the windings of the Cretan labyrinth; and that the comparison is more than a mere poetical flourish appears from a drawing on a very ancient Etruscan vase.... The drawing represents a procession of seven beardless warriors dancing, accompanied by two armed riders on horseback . . . also beardless. An inscription proves that the scene depicted is the Game of Troy, and attached to the procession is a figure of the Cretan labyrinth.... The same pattern is scratched on a wall at Pompeii; and it is also worked in mosaic on the floor of Roman

apartments. . . . Roman boys appear to have drawn the very same pattern on the ground and to have played a game on it. . . . The garden mazes of the Renaissance were modelled on them. Moreover, they are found very commonly in the north of Europe marked out either by raised bands of turf or by rows of stones. Such labyrinths may be seen in Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, the south coast of Russian Lappland, and even in Iceland. They go by various names, such as Babylon, Wieland's House, Trojeborg, Tröburg, and so forth, [indicating] their connexion with the ancient Game of Troy. They are used for children's games [as may be seen in our 'hopscotch' and the labyrinthine mazes the children chalk on pavements].

A dance or game which has thus spread over Europe and survived in a fashion to modern times must have been very popular, and bearing in mind how often with the decay of old faiths the serious rites and pageants of grown people have degenerated into the sports of children, we may reasonably ask whether Ariadne's Dance or the Game of Troy may not have had its origin in religious ritual.[1]

Without following Sir J. G. Frazer's speculations as to the connexion of these celebrations, whether in the shape of dance or pageant or mystery-play, with the sun and the seasons and the promotion of the growth of the crops through the renewal of the strength of the human king on whom their welfare was supposed to depend by the killing of himself and his substitution by a successor, or by sacrifices on his behalf, we may see in them all rites held in honour of the dead, who in their day were real human beings; in process of time the recollection of this fell away and they degenerated into mere meaningless celebrations or children's games.

The same thing, no doubt, holds true for the May-Day celebrations and dances and for many others, too well-known to need more than a passing reference here. As consecrated by the Church the May-Day dances were held in honour of the Blessed Virgin in the first day of the month dedicated to Mary, but they celebrate the incoming of spring and the end of the season of sowing with hopes for a fruitful harvest, and go back to the rites of Eleusis, and the worship of Demeter and Persephone, who, before they became the patron goddesses of the corn, were as really human as Osiris, Dionysus, and the rest have been shown to be, while they have their analogues in the customs

[1] Frazer, *The Dying God*, 3rd ed., pp. 75–7.

of primitive peoples to-day. Thus all these religious dances, whatever shape they may assume, have their origin and significance in reverence for, and the worship of, the dead.

We may here refer more fully to the Midsummer Fires, and other festivals in which the dance bears a leading part, in most parts of Europe, and not least, up to a quite recent date, in the British Isles. A good general account of the midsummer customs, together with some of the reasons popularly alleged for observing them, is given by Thomas Kirchmeyer, a writer of the sixteenth century, in his poem *The Popish Kingdom*: it is quoted in full by Frazer[1]:

Then doth the joyfull feast of John the Baptist take his turne,
When bonfiers great with loftie flame, in every towne doe burne;
And yong men round about with maides, doe daunce in every streete,
With garlandes wrought of Motherwort, or else with Vervain sweete,
And many other flowrës faire, with Violets in their handes,
Whereas they all doe fondly thinke, that whosoever standes,
And thorow the flowres beholds the flame, his eyes shall feele no paine.
When thus till night they daunced have, they through the fire amaine
With striving mindes doe runne, and all their hearbes they cast therin
And then with wordes devout and prayers, they solemnely begin,
Desiring God that all their illes may there consumed bee,
Whereby they thinke through all that yeare from Agues to be free.
Some others get a rotten wheele, all worne and cast aside,
Which covered round about with strawe, and tow, they closely hide;
And caryed to some mountaines top, being all with fire light,
They hurle it downe with violence, when darke appeares the night:
Resembling much the Sunne, that from the heavens downe should fal,
A straunge and monstrous sight it seems, and fearefull to them all:
But they suppose their mischiefes all are likewise throwne to hell,
And that from harmes and daungers now, in safetie here they dwell.

In Denmark and Norway Midsummer fires were kindled on St. John's Eve on roads, open spaces, and hills. People in Norway thought that the fires banished sickness from among the cattle.

In Sweden the Eve of St. John is the most joyous night in the whole year. The people dance round the fires and leap over or through them. In parts of Norrland on St. John's Eve the bon-

[1] *Balder the Beautiful*, i. 162.

fires are lit at the cross-roads. The fuel consists of nine different sorts of wood, and the spectators cast into the flames a kind of toadstool, in order to counteract the power of the trolls and other evil spirits, who are believed to be abroad that night; for at that mystic season the mountains open and from their cavernous depths the uncanny crew pours forth to dance and disport themselves for a time.

In southern France on St. John's Eve young people set up on the banks of the Garonne a tree covered with ribbons and garlands; at the end of a year the withered tree and faded flowers furnish excellent fuel. So the villagers assemble, and on the Eve of St. John an old man or a child kindles the fire which is to consume tree and garlands together. While the blaze lasts, the people sing and dance; and the burnt tree is replaced by another, to suffer the same fate after the lapse of a year. In some districts of the French Pyrenees it is deemed necessary to leap nine times over the Midsummer fire if you would be assured of prosperity.

I transcribe the following from an account which I wrote after witnessing the scene in the neighbourhood of Bayonne in the year 1874. I have no doubt the custom continues to the present time:

> This being St. John's Eve, our 'fermier' had a fire lighted outside in the road in front of our gate, as did all the inhabitants of the village, not making one large bonfire, it being essential that each house should have its own fire. In the centre of the village there was a large bonfire round which the young men and women danced, joining hands, and then leaped over it themselves, and made the cattle, sheep, and pigs go through the same performance. This was supposed to keep off all diseases and misfortunes for the coming year.

And so we arrive at our conclusion: The stories of Osiris and Isis, of Krishna, the Passion-Play of Hassan and Hussein, the dramatic dances and mimetic representations which are common in Java, in Burmah, in China and Japan, and the May Day, St. John's Eve, and other dances in Europe all bear the same testimony; and even among the savages of Australia the Corroborees, or dances that accompany the initiation ceremonies, are held in honour of the Alcheringa, or mythical ancestors of the tribe.

It will be observed that in the foregoing study I have not made mention of any dances save those that may be considered definitely religious; thus the old Icelandic dances, known as the Viki-vaki dances, which possibly have some affinity with the Irish Wakes, and the Sword-dances of Scandinavia and Scotland, and other similar dances, are outside our purview; nor have I mentioned the many wonderful representations of the *danse macabre*, or Dance of Death, which adorned so many towns in the middle ages, and of which one of the best remaining is to be seen on the Old Bridge at Lucerne. Holbein's studies of this quaint medieval conception are familiar to all: as danced by mummers representing the various characters it was, no doubt, a religious dance.

There is one further conclusion we would draw. From a study of primitive thought we may gather that these ceremonies, whether dances or mimetic representations or both combined, held at tombs or in connexion with funeral ceremonies or festivals of the departed, are not confined merely to the desire to honour the dead, but also include the wish to make use of the *mana*[1] of the departed for the promotion of the fruitfulness of crops and cattle, for the increase of his own prowess in war, for the warding off or the curing of sickness, or for any other purpose which may be for the benefit of the worshipper in his own person or in his possessions. Man is an eminently practical being; he does nothing without a motive. Especially is this true in the lower stages of culture; and if he can bend his magic and his religion to promote his own practical ends, so much the better for him.

[1] See Chapter I.

CHAPTER XVI

TREE- AND PILLAR-WORSHIP

THE subject with which the following pages deal is one which bulks large, if not in modern yet in all ancient literature, more especially in the mythology and folk-lore of the past, and in that of primitive peoples to-day.

It is my purpose to co-ordinate its various branches, and from customs surviving in a mutilated and half-hearted fashion, more particularly within our own Islands, to deduce the origin and meaning of 'tree-worship' in the past. The subject is one which touches both anthropology and folk-lore, and in both these aspects it is worthy of consideration.

Tree-worship has indeed been very fully explored, from the point of view of both anthropology and folk-lore, by many modern writers; I shall make use of their investigations, and, from an archaeological point of view, plead for the continuance and revival of customs which, stripped of their old pagan associations, are innocent and harmless enough in themselves, and of real practical advantage to the community. Bastian in *Der Baum*, and Mannhardt in his *Baumkultus*, have gathered a vast store of facts from all parts of the world, which prove the universal prevalence of 'tree-worship' among primitive peoples in all ages, and of the facts collected by them Frazer makes large use in *The Golden Bough*, as also does Sir E. B. Tylor in his *Primitive Culture*. The latter adduces the facts to support his theory of primitive 'animism'; the former carries the investigation further, and by means of his demonstration of the idea of the 'tree-spirit' enters the region of polytheism.

Bötticher has written a long and elaborate treatise on *Tree-worship among the Greeks*, and Sir Arthur Evans, by his wonderful discoveries in Crete, has demonstrated the existence of the same worship among the Cretans of the Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean ages. To these I shall refer more fully in the course of my argument. We are more especially concerned here with

what may be learnt as to primitive tree-worship from its relics among ourselves, and we shall only make use of the wider researches of the writers named, and of others who have dealt with the subject, to illustrate the fact that customs still to be found in England and Scotland and Ireland to-day go to prove the truth that so universal a form of worship has its roots deep in the mystic past of our race. These customs, floating like jetsam on the sea of time, meaningless in themselves, and apparently confused and shapeless, are yet full of instruction as to the origin and significance of tree-worship to the careful observer. As long as they are regarded separately and apart their meaning is hidden—each one, like the Cyclops in Virgil (if the illustration may be used) is just 'monstrum, horrendum, informe, ingens, *cui lumen ademptum*'; as it is with the facts of natural science, so it is with the facts of anthropology and folk-lore: arrangement and co-ordination cause the light to spring forth.

Few, for example, would at first sight associate the customs connected with May Day and the vernal festival with 'tree- and pillar-worship,' at least in its most primitive form. They have been explained as survivals of the old *Floralia* of the Romans, without, at least until recently, any attempt being made to carry the investigation any further back into the dim past of our race; and yet, when they are examined with attention, they will be found to be eloquent of the old worship of trees, with which was intimately connected, though as a later development, the worship of pillars, whether of wood or stone—a worship which has come down to us from prehistoric ancestors as it did to the Babylonians, Canaanites (from whom it passed to the Israelites), Cretans, Greeks, and Romans of old.

The customs connected with May Day are too well known to be described in detail. A general account will suffice, together with certain pregnant details drawn from separate localities. In their later development, as they were practised down to the days of our fathers, and are still in some quiet country villages not yet disturbed by the whistle of the locomotive or the hum of the motor-car, or invaded by the charabanc, these customs consisted in the gathering of the villagers on the green in the early

morning. There they proceeded to erect, in the centre of the green, the Maypole. This was a tall young sapling from the forest, stripped of boughs and leaves, but gaily decked instead with garlands of flowers, and hung with many-hued ribbons and strips of coloured paper. Round this the young people, carrying branches, the maidens also crowned with garlands, danced to the strains of lively music, and the rite was not complete until one maiden, chosen as the fairest of them all, was proclaimed Queen of the May.

This is merely a rough generalization. We will now look at some details belonging to the celebration, taken from places in our own country in which they may be found still extant.

Mr. Charles Dack has given the following interesting account of old May-day customs at Peterborough, together with examples of the May songs, and these may be compared with customs in other parts of Northants.[1]

May Day is still a great day with children; from early in the morning till the afternoon you see groups of children carrying garlands carefully covered with a white cloth. These garlands are made with hoops and half-hoops, gaily decorated with flowers, foliage, ribbons, and coloured paper, and in the centre, generally, the best doll to be had. The structure is fastened to a pole, and two girls carry it. The little girls are gaily dressed in their spring clothes, with wreaths of tissue-paper roses and streamers on their heads, and also coloured tissue-paper trimmings and streamers on their dresses. Then there are their attendants, also similarly dressed; but the most important is the young lady who carries the money-box, who is keenly watched by several pairs of interested eyes. They come round to the various houses, and when the door opens they begin to sing their songs (several of which I have copied), and uncover the garland, and the money-box is rattled. Generally, the doorway is filled with all the family, and a penny is usually given, and off the party trudge to the next house and the performance is continued; sometimes, for a larger gratuity, more verses will be sung. In the afternoon their mothers take the money, and a high tea is provided; and, if fine, the children still sport their finery, and a very pleasant evening is spent.

On old May Day the custom is repeated; but it depends for its success upon the state of the weather on May 1st.

[1] *Journ. Brit. Arch. Assoc.* 1899, pp. 323–42.

The following example of a garland song will suffice to show their character:

Good morrow, Lords and Ladies!
It is the first of May,
We hope you'll view our garlands,
They are so bright and gay.
Chorus—To the greenwoods we will go,
To the greenwoods we will go,
To the greenwoods we will go, go, go,
To the greenwoods we will go.

This bunch of May it looks so gay,
Before your door it stands;
It is but a sprout, but it's well spread out
By the work of our Lord's hands.
Chorus—To the greenwoods, &c.

The cuckoo sings in April,
The cuckoo sings in May,
The cuckoo sings in June;
In July she flies away.
Chorus—To the greenwoods, &c.

At Abingdon, in Berks, the young people formerly went about in groups on May morning singing a carol, of which the following are two of the verses:

We've been rambling all the night,
And some time of this day;
And now returning back again,
We bring a garland gay.

A garland gay we bring you here,
And at your door we stand;
It is a sprout well budded out,
The work of our Lord's hand.

At Narborough, in Norfolk, down to the closing years of the last century, on May-day morning the boys and girls of the village used to assemble. A donkey-cart was procured, in which was placed a large cartwheel, and into the hub of the wheel was fixed erect a gaily decorated pole. Streamers of ribbons hung from the top, which the children held, and a boy rode in the cart to drive the

donkey. As they went through the village they danced round the cart singing:

It was Nature's fine gay [? gala] day,
And a bright smiling May Day,
When the lads and the lasses tripped lightly away;
&c., &c.

Money was collected, which was afterwards spent in a feast for the children, and dances were held on the green in the evening.

At the villages of Saffron Walden and Debden, in Essex, on the first of May little girls go about in parties from door to door singing songs almost identical with the above and carrying garlands; a doll dressed in white is usually placed in the middle of each garland. Similar customs have been and still are observed, as Frazer says, in various parts of England, and to his exhaustive list I would here refer. Northampton, Uttoxeter, Watford, Abingdon, the village of Bampton-in-the-Bush, Oxon., Sevenoaks, Cambridge, Salisbury, all figure in his catalogue of English examples, to say nothing of his list of places in all parts of Europe where this custom exists, in essence one and the same, but everywhere with local variants. The garlands are generally in the form of hoops intersecting each other at right angles. These hoops are covered with any wild flowers in season, and are further ornamented with ribbons. Sometimes the garlands are fastened to the end of a stick carried perpendicularly, sometimes they hang from the middle of a stick borne horizontally by two children.

In Northants also a young tree ten or twelve feet high used to be planted before each house on May Day so as to appear growing. An ancient custom, still retained in Cornwall, is that of decking their doors and porches on May 1st with green boughs of sycamore and hawthorn, and of planting trees, or rather stumps of trees, before their houses. The town of Helston, in Cornwall, had, and I believe still has, a custom peculiar to itself, which, however, took place on May 8th instead of on the 1st, that is, on the octave of the May-day festival. I saw it myself many years ago. At a very early hour in the morning a party of men and boys go into the country, and return about 7 o'clock, bearing green branches, and announcing

in a very melancholy ditty that ' winter is gone, and that they have been to the merry greenwood to fetch home summer in its place '. Having perambulated the town and accepted money from all who will give, they retire from the scene, and the town for the remainder of the morning is enlivened by the continuous arrival of carriages from the country and neighbouring towns, bringing visitors to take part in the coming gaiety.

At 1 p.m. a large party of men and maidens, in summer garments, and lavishly adorned with flowers, gather opposite the Town Hall, and, preceded by a band of music, begin a peculiar kind of dance called ' the furry ', first tripping on in a double row, and then, at a change in the tune, wheeling round in couples. These evolutions are not confined to the street; for, here and there, where the doors have been thrown open, the dancers enter the houses, band and all, pass through the courts and gardens, and may presently be seen coming out by another door, if the house has more than one, than that by which they entered. In this way they traverse the whole town, presenting an appearance as gay as it is unusual, especially while winding through some of the very beautiful gardens for which this town is celebrated, and which at this season, the lilacs and laburnums being in full flower, are arranged in their showiest livery. Later in the day other parties go through the same performances, and it is not till quite late at night that the little town returns to its wonted quiet.

This custom is of immemorial antiquity, and it may be noted that the air played while the dancing is going on is still traditional in Wales and Brittany, countries inhabited by the same race as the Cornish, and carrying back the celebration, therefore, to at least a time when the forefathers of these three peoples were the dominant race in Gaul and Britain.

The custom of erecting a Maypole was at one time universal in England and on the Continent, though in some parts of the latter the pole was not erected till June 23rd, the Eve of St. John. This is the case in Sweden, in Bohemia, and also in the Basque country round Bayonne. In this last the erection of the pole is associated with two other customs, to which I will only allude here—the lighting of the great bonfires, the Beltan, at night, into and over which the cattle are driven, and round which the

youths and maidens join hands and dance, from time to time themselves passing through the fire. In this scene of wild barbaric festivity, picturesque and interesting beyond measure, I have myself taken part.[1] The other custom was that which survives in one form or another in many localities, that young maidens should arise at the earliest dawn on Midsummer morning, and, passing swiftly and silently from the house *in statu naturae*, should bathe in the dew-covered, sun-flecked grass of the meadow, after which, provided no eye had seen them, they would be sure to secure the husband of their choice in the course of the ensuing year.

A few examples of the May-day Maypole will be sufficient to supplement the general description previously given. Borlase, the historian of Cornwall, says: ' From towns they make incursions, on May Eve, into the country, cut down a tall elm, bring it to the town with rejoicings, and having fitted a straight taper pole to the end of it, and painted it, erect it in the most public part, and, upon holidays and festivals, dress it with garlands of flowers.' In Northumberland, down apparently to near the end of the eighteenth century, young people of both sexes used to go out early on May morning to gather the flowering thorn and the dew off the grass, which they brought home with music and acclamations; then, having dressed a pole on the green with garlands, they danced about it. A syllabub made of warm milk from the cow, sweet cakes, and wine, was prepared for the feast; and a kind of divination to discover who should be wedded first was practised by dropping a marriage ring into the syllabub and fishing for it with a ladle. The mention of the gathering of the thorn and the marriage divination reminds one of the common European custom of placing a green bush on May Day before or on the house of a beloved maiden. In some parts of England this custom took the form of placing a sprig of thorn in the maiden's window, but it should be noted that great care needed to be exercised, for if it should be of *black*thorn instead of *white* (the *real* May) dire disaster was portended, and *white*-thorn in bloom is very rare in England on May Day! Mr. Dack describes this custom at Peterborough, with a slight variation in the meaning, as follows:—' On May Day a curious custom

[1] See preceding chapter.

was observed: the ardent lover would place a piece of May in bloom in the window, or the hole of the window-shutter, of the house in which his lady lived; but if there had been a quarrel, a piece of blackthorn was used instead of the May-blossom, so that the neighbours would know the state of affairs.' This was a universal European custom, as will be noted later on, although in most places it took the form of putting a green bush in or upon the maiden's dwelling. The usual custom was to bring in a new May tree each year, though in England, in later times, it seems to have been permanent. This was due to forgetfulness of its original meaning.

It will be remembered that in speaking of the May garlands mention was made of a doll in connexion therewith. This doll was called the ' Lady of the May,' and leads us on to the next point—the choice of the fairest maiden to be ' Queen of the May '; but before passing to this, the most poetic and romantic part of our subject, we must not forget the procession of leaf-clad mummers, with one specially distinguished at their head, which seems to represent the correlative idea, though in a degraded form, of the '*King* of the May'. In England the best-known example is the 'Jack-in-the-green', a chimney-sweep who walks encased in a pyramidal framework of wicker, covered with holly and ivy, and surmounted by a crown of flowers and ribbons. Thus arrayed he dances on May Day at the head of a troop of chimney-sweeps, who collect pence. Chimney-sweeps were probably chosen for the purpose because by May Day the need for fire was supposed to be over, and the sweep would have no chance of earning money at his trade until the following winter; and we must remember that sweeps are considered lucky —it is good luck to shake hands with one.

As regards the May Queen, she is very familiar to us in England, and is common in France and other parts. In the south-east of Ireland on May Day the prettiest girl used to be chosen Queen of the District for twelve months. She was crowned with wild flowers; feasting, dancing, and rustic sports followed, and were closed by a grand procession in the evening. In some places both a king and queen, or lord and lady, were chosen. I remember when I was at Grenoble in 1873 seeing on the first of May a king and queen chosen, and set on a throne in view of

the assembled crowd. In England there is a custom at Headington, near Oxford, for each garland to be carried by two girls, followed by a lord and lady—a boy and girl linked together by a white handkerchief, of which each held an end, and dressed with ribbons, sashes, and flowers. At each door they sang a verse similar to those already quoted, and on receiving money the lord put his arm about the lady's waist and kissed her.

A custom that seems to point simply to the idea of the revival of vegetation in spring was once prevalent in the Highlands of Scotland, and has been thus described: 'Upon the night before Candlemas it is usual, in the Hebrides, to make a bed with corn and hay, over which some blankets are laid, in a part of the house near the door; when it is ready, a person goes out and repeats three times, "Bridget, Bridget, come in; thy bed is ready". Another account gives it as "Brüd is come, Brüd is welcome". One or more candles are left burning near it all night.'[1]

The rites connected with Sacred Trees must not be forgotten in this connexion. In our own country, as Sir E. B. Tylor reminds us, names like *Holyoake* and *Holywood* record our own old memories of the holy trees and groves, memories long lingering in the tenacious peasant mind; while Jakob Grimm even ventures to connect historically the ancient sacred inviolable wood with the later royal forest, an ethnological argument which would begin with the savage adoring the spirit of the forest and end with the modern landowner preserving his pheasants.

In Ireland, sacred trees are met with in many localities, and are of a variety of species. The mountain-ash is popularly supposed in that country to have a peculiar virtue against the attacks of fairies, witches, or malign influences generally. When the dairymaid churns for a long time without making butter, she will stir the cream with a sprig of rowan, and strike the cow with another, thus breaking the spell. The ancient Irish believed that the first man sprang from an alder, the first woman from a mountain-ash. Both trees are still believed to be endowed with mystic properties. On May Eve, withes made of the branches of the mountain-ash are tied round the horns of cows; temporary

[1] St. Bride, or Bridget, was the first to take the Infant Jesus in her arms. A. Goodrich Freer, *The Outer Isles*, pp. 224ff. Originally she was a Celtic goddess, corresponding to Venus.

hoops, formed in the same way, are placed round churns, to counteract the spells of the fairies always busily engaged before sunrise on May morning, trying to steal the butter of the farmers.[1]

There seems to be some connexion in the sacred ash of Ireland with the sacred World-ash of the Scandinavian mythology. This World-ash of the Eddas, generally called Yggdrasil's Ash, is one of the most interesting survivals of tree-worship. It is described by the Sibyl in 'Völuspa': 'I know an ash called Yggdrasil, a high tree sprinkled with white moisture (thence come the dews that fall in the dales); it stands ever green by Urd's spring. Thence come three maids, all-knowing, from the hall that stands under the tree'; and as a sign of the approaching doom she says, 'Yggdrasil's ash trembles as it stands; the old tree groans.'

Grimnismal says that the gods go every day to hold judgement by the ash, and further speaks of the serpent Nidhögg who gnaws at its root. The connexion between tree- and serpent-worship, so well described in Fergusson's monumental work on the subject, lies beyond our province on this occasion, but it is to be noted that, unlike other mythologies, the snake is here the destroyer, not the protector of the tree. The ash is the oracle, the judgement-place of the gods, the dwelling of the Fates, the source of the spring of knowledge. The sacred character of the ash may also be deduced from the number of place-names connected with it to be found in England. For example, we have 'Æscendun', now Ashdown, where Alfred won his great victory over the Danes. On the borders of Kent and Surrey we have 'Ashdown Forest'; in Kent there is the town of Ashford, and in Surrey Ashtead; while in Suffolk we have two places called simply 'Ash' or 'Ashe', 'Ashby', 'Essham' or 'Asham', and 'Ashfield'; and in Leicestershire 'Ashby-de-la-Zouch'.

In Scandinavian poetry there are frequent allusions to the old worship of trees, combined with references to the dragon Fafnir, who guarded the tree that was decked with the golden treasure. These occur as 'Kennings' or metaphors, but they point to a time when the belief was alive. As Mr. Collingwood remarks in the introduction to his beautiful translation of the

[1] Cf. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, II. 1; Milton, *L'Allegro*.

Kormaks-Saga, published by the Viking Society: 'The Skalds liked a roundabout way of expressing themselves; many poets do. ... Men are called gods of the sword or spear, or "staves" of the spear, because they carry it; and so the "trees" of anything they "bear",' and ladies are trees decked with ornaments. 'The primitive custom of hanging offerings on sacred trees, fetish trees, may have suggested the idea' (no doubt this is the origin of it); 'and so, when we read of the Fir-tree wreathed in silk or gold, or carrying shields, we see a picture by no means absurd, though alien to our current coinage of poetical diction, and a symbol, ready to the mind of those days, for a lord or a lady.'

For example, when Cormac sings of Steingerd, 'She's a ring-bedight oak of the ale-cup', or addresses her as 'sweet stem with the dragon's hoard shining', we know at once what he means; while of himself he sings: 'I'm a tree that is tricked out in war-gear,' and Bersi replied, when asked by Steingerd how it had fared at the Holmgang when Cormac and he had fought, 'They call him, and truly they tell it, a tree of the helmet right noble.' Indeed, the image is so common, and so evidently belongs to the habit of thought of the people, that it could only have arisen as the result of a universal and deep-seated belief.

The sacred tree also, as will be remembered, plays a large part in the story of Jeanne d'Arc, only the spirits or divinities have become, in the fifteenth century, fairies. One of the articles of her accusation was this: 'A woman doth say that at the age of thirteen or thereabouts she did with her bodily eyes see St. Michael and St. Gabriel, in bodily form. ... Since then she hath seen a multitude of angels, and St. Catherine and St. Margaret have shown themselves to her in bodily form. ... These latter have also formerly spoken to her near a spring which flows at the foot of a great tree, called in her neighbourhood "The Fairies' Tree". This spring and this tree nevertheless have been, it is said, frequented by fairies; persons ill of fever have repaired there in great numbers to recover their health.'

When questioned as to this tree Jeanne replied, 'Not far from Domremy there is a tree that they call "The Ladies' Tree", others call it "The Fairies' Tree"; near by there is a spring where people sick of the fever come to drink, as I have heard, and to seek water, to restore their health.... I have heard that the

sick, once cured, come to this tree to walk about. It is a beautiful tree, a beech.... Often I have heard the old folk—they are not of my lineage—say that the fairies haunt this tree.... As for me, I never saw them that I know of. I have seen the young girls putting garlands on the branches of this tree, and I myself have sometimes put them there.... Since I was grown up, I do not remember to have danced there.... I have sung there more than danced.'

Article V of the 'Seventy Articles' prepared for her accusation is as follows:—'Near the village of Domremy there is a great tree, big and ancient; it is called "The Charmed Tree of the Fairy of Bourlement"; near by is a spring; round this tree and this spring live, it is said, evil spirits called fairies, with whom those who use witchcraft are accustomed to come and dance at night.' 'What have you to say in answer to this article?' To which Jeanne replies: 'For the tree and the spring I refer to my previous answers. The rest, I deny.'

Some of the witnesses provide interesting details. For example, one says: 'On the subject of the Fairies' Tree I have heard that the fairies came there long ago to dance; but since the Gospel of St. John has been read under the tree, they come no more. At the present day, on the Sunday when in the Holy Church of God the Introit to the Mass, "Laetare Jerusalem", is sung, called with us "the Sunday of the Wells", the young maidens and youths of Domremy are accustomed to go there, and also in the spring and summer and on festival days; they dance there and have a feast. On their return they go dancing and playing to the Well of the Thorn, where they drink and amuse themselves gathering flowers.' Another says: 'It was the custom to go every year, on the Sunday of Laetare, which we call "the Sunday of the Wells", to play and walk round this tree. Jeannette went with us, we each brought provisions, and, the meal ended, went to refresh ourselves at the well.' Another tells us how 'there is a tree called by us the Ladies' Tree, because, in ancient days, the Sieur Pierre Granier, Seigneur de Bourlement, and a lady called Fée met under this tree and conversed together. I have heard it read in a romance.'[1] From all this it is evident either that the ancient beech tree was itself, or that it

[1] *Jeanne d'Arc*, edited by T. Douglas Murray, pp. 20, 214, 217, 219, 221, 366.

occupied the place of, the sacred Fetish, or Juju-tree of the primitive dwellers of Domrémy.

The whitethorn, associated in Christian tradition with the Crown of Thorns, was a sacred tree long before. Hence it is not surprising that the Irish consider it unlucky to cut down the holy tree. 'Don't tamper with the "lone bush",' is a rustic warning everywhere in remote parts of Ireland. It is unlucky as well as dangerous to meddle with any tree accounted sacred. There is a sacred tree in the parish of Clenor, co. Cork, known as the *Crann a hulla*. It is a stunted ash, growing in a lofty, bleak situation, and is probably not more than 300 years old. Most likely it is an offshoot from the parent tree. Although quite unprotected, and although fuel is scarce in the neighbourhood, yet so much as a branch was never lopped off. Another sacred ash, called the 'Big Bell Tree', is growing to this day in co. Tipperary, at least its remains. It looks like two trees, but is all that has survived of a trunk formerly 30 ft. round. Tradition records that if the smallest portion of this tree was ever burned in any house, that house also would in time be burnt.

Everybody is familiar with the 'Gospel Oaks', which are to be found in many parts of our own country, and are traditionally said either to be, or to occupy the spot where stood, the original oak tree under which the first preachers of Christianity stood and proclaimed the Gospel.

The tradition may very likely have a basis of truth, but the sacred character of these trees or their congeners ascends into the dim and distant past. We have all learnt from Caesar of the sacred character attached to the oak in the mystic rites of the Druidical faith, and Pliny describes the solemn cutting of the mistletoe (which was a sacred plant only when it was found growing on the oak tree) by the white-robed priest with a golden sickle, under the light of the full moon. True, the researches of later critical historians and students have proved a good many things formerly attributed to the 'Druids' to be without foundation, and doubt has even been thrown on the existence of any such special class as the 'Druids' at all among our British ancestors[1]; but at any rate there is no doubt whatever

[1] Information as to the 'Druids' is contained in Traill's *Social England*, vol. i, pp. 59, 111–15. They were only found among the Gaelic Celts, and

that the worship of sacred trees, particularly the oak, and perhaps the mistletoe on the oak, and the veneration paid to sacred groves, formed a very large part of the religion of our Celtic and pre-Celtic ancestors.

Caesar (vi. 13) represents Druidism as being on the wane in Gaul, and as having originated in Britain, whither those who wished to study it thoroughly had to resort. ' But,' says Sir John Rhys,[1] ' as there is no convincing evidence to identify it with any Brythonic tribe in this country, while there is evidence of its prevalence among the Goidels of Môn in the time of Agricola, and of its surviving in Ireland in that of Patrick, and in the Pictland of the North in that of Columba, we infer that it was a system evolved by the Continental Goidels, or rather accepted by them from the aborigines ' (i.e. the Iberian Picts, &c.). In later Welsh the word ' Druidecht ' came to mean the arts of magic.

The Druidism of later times was a new creation. There is no proof of any formal connexion between the Druidic priesthood and the Bardic system as it appears in Wales in the twelfth century. ' Druidism was suppressed by the Romans, and there is nothing to show that the sacerdotal class, practically destroyed by Paulinus, ever regained its authority or maintained its organization.'

No one will forget the fine words in which Tacitus describes the destruction of the British army, and of the Druids, by Paulinus in the great battle at the Menai Straits, and the subsequent doings of the Roman soldiers:

Stabat pro litore diversa acies, densa armis virisque, intercursantibus feminis; in modo Furiarum, veste ferali, crinibus deiectis, faces praeferebant. Druidaeque circum, preces diras sublatis ad caelum manibus fundentes, novitate aspectus perculere milites, ut quasi haerentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus praeberent.

continued among them the traditions of the old pre-Celtic Iberian religion. They were not a caste, but an order, in which there were three classes—the Druids proper, Bards, and *Ovates*, i.e. *Vates*. They were finally destroyed A.D. 61 in the battle of Mona, as described below. The book by Mr. Kendrick on *The Druids* (published 1927) is full of interest, though highly controversial; for example his idea that the Druids made Stonehenge a rallying place against the Romans is a mere guess, and must remain so.

[1] Rhys and D. Brynmor Jones, *The Welsh People*, pp. 83, 112, 255.

Dein cohortationibus ducis, et se ipsi stimulantes, ne muliebre et fanaticum agmen pavescerent, inferunt signa sternuntque obvios et igni suo involvunt. Praesidium posthac impositum victis, excisique luci saevis superstitionibus sacri. Nam cruore captivo adolere aras et hominum fibris consulere deos fas habebant.

It reads like an account of our own doings some years ago in the Ibo country in West Africa, and of the destruction of the great Juju in the depths of the African forest. We need not, however, make too much of these and other descriptions of the religion of our ancestors, when we remember that Christianity itself was set down by these same writers as a *saeva superstitio*, and the Christians were accused of cannibalism and other savage practices in connexion with the celebration of the Holy Mysteries.

In his *Germania* Tacitus gives us some further information as to the sacred groves, saying, ' Lucos ac nemora consecrant, deorumque nominibus appellant secretum illud quod sola reverentia vident '.

With Christianity comes, alike in Germany, Britain, Brittany, and elsewhere, a furious crusade against the holy trees and groves. Constant denunciations were hurled at the practice—first from one Council of the Church, and then another, as at Arles in 452, at Tours in 567, and Toledo in 692.[1] In England in the reign of Canute we find the worship of stones and all kinds of trees and wood expressly prohibited, as also in a Canon of Edgar in 967. In Brittany the cult obtained to a very considerable extent, for in 658 a Council held at Nantes, after declaiming against the pagan rites then existing, specially refers to ' oaks and stones still in the depths of the woods before which the people burn fires and place offerings '; and then the decree proceeds to strictly enjoin the bishops of Brittany to have the trees thus worshipped torn up and burnt, and the stones before which idolatrous practices occurred cast down and hidden from those who sought to do them reverence. In spite of everything, however, the old ideas lingered on in the minds of the people, and even at the present time the greatest reverence is paid to the *menhirs* by the peasantry, and Breton women desiring offspring

[1] At Arles it was declared that ' if in any diocese an infidel kindled torches, or worshipped trees, fountains, or stones, or refrained from destroying them ', he was to be held guilty of sacrilege (' sacrilegii reum se esse cognoscat ').

lay at their foot fruit and flowers, besides performing still more curious acts of propitiation.[1] St. Boniface, with an ardour as keen as that of the soldiers of Suetonius at Mona, hews down, in the presence of the priests, the huge oak of the Hessian Heaven-god, and builds of the timber a chapel to St. Peter. In spite of all such efforts, the old religion of sacred tree and grove, and the rites connected therewith, continued to survive in Europe, and the customs we have been considering here are the proof thereof. For the most part, however, the Church showed her wisdom in dealing with this aspect of ancient paganism, by adapting it to her own purposes. Just as she took over the old gods and goddesses of Greece and Rome, and made of the days and seasons sacred to them the festivals of Christian saints and martyrs, and of Christ Himself, so she adapted tree-worship to her own purposes; she turned the Cross itself into a Sacred Tree (Gal. iii. 13), as in the words of the glorious hymns *Vexilla Regis*:

> Arbor decora et fulgida,
> Ornata Regis purpura,
> Electa digno stipite
> Tam sancta membra tangere;

and *Pange Lingua*:

> Crux fidelis, inter omnes arbor una nobilis
> (Nulla talem silva profert flore, fronde, germine),
> Dulce lignum, dulce clavo dulce pondus sustinens!
> Flecte ramos, arbor alta, tensa laxa viscera,
> Et rigor lentescat ille quem dedit nativitas,
> Ut superni membra Regis mite tendas stipite.[2]

The Church also connected the whitethorn with the Crown of Thorns, and at Glastonbury with St. Joseph of Arimathea; and of the month of May, sacred above all, as we have seen, to the rites of tree-worship, she made the month of Mary. For this we may be most thankful, for to it is largely due the survival of those ancient rites, and the possibility of our discovering their meaning, and it would be well if modern missionaries were to act more generally in the spirit of the same high common sense,

[1] Worsfold, *The French Stonehenge*, pp. 13–15.
[2] See English version in *Hymns Ancient & Modern*, 96 and 97.

both for the good of the native races themselves, and for the benefit of folk-lorists of future ages.

This is the question it remains for us to discuss. Employing that method of co-ordination of which I have spoken, what is the idea, or what are the ideas, that lie at the root of tree-worship, and of sacred trees and groves?

Frazer, pursuing all the intricate windings of the thread that shall lead to the solution of the mystery of ' the Golden Bough ', deals only with the question as it affects the Aryan races, though in the course of his investigation he arrives at two ideas, one of which is practically identical with, and the other a development of, Sir E. B. Tylor's principal hypothesis. Frazer's thesis is confined to discovering the meaning of that ' golden bough ' which was the passport of Aeneas to Avernus, as described in Aen. vi. 143–7:

> Primo avulso non deficit alter
> Aureus . . .
> . . . ipse volens facilisque sequetur,
> Si te fata vocant.

and of the rites connected with the priesthood of Nemi, the lake beside whose waters stood the Arician grove, so exquisitely portrayed in Turner's well-known picture, and described by Macaulay:

> The still glassy lake that sleeps
> Beneath Aricia's trees,
> Those trees in whose dim shadow
> The ghastly priest doth reign,
> The priest who slew the slayer,
> And shall himself be slain.

With this main thesis we have nothing to do. He may, as far as we are concerned, be right, or he may be as mistaken as Andrew Lang endeavoured to prove him in his *Magic and Religion*, but no one can dispute the infinite labour and industry which Frazer has displayed in the pursuit of illustrations from all possible sources, and his book is a perfect mine of folk-lore and folk-religion; but when he comes to discuss tree-worship as a modern survival in Europe from antiquity, he goes no further back than the antiquity of the Aryan races. His words are:

In the religious history of the Aryan race in Europe [this in-

cludes all of the Aryan stock—Celts, Teutons, Greeks, and Romans] the worship of trees has played an important part. Nothing could be more natural. For at the dawn of history Europe was covered with immense primaeval forests, in which the scattered clearings must have appeared like islets in an ocean of green. Down to the first century before our era the Hercynian forest stretched eastward from the Rhine for a distance at once vast and unknown. . . . Four centuries later it was visited by the Emperor Julian, and the solitude, the gloom, the silence of the forest appear to have made a deep impression on his sensitive nature. In our own country the wealds of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex are remnants of the great forest of Anderida, which once clothed the whole of the south-eastern portion of the island. . . . In the forest of Arden it was said that down to modern times a squirrel might leap from tree to tree for nearly the whole length of Warwickshire.[1]

The same, he goes on to show, holds good of Italy and Greece, and proofs of the prevalence of tree-worship in ancient Greece and Italy are abundant.

All this is perfectly true, and yet we make bold to say that Frazer does not go back far enough; and the very examples that he proceeds to cite from the customs of modern savages, and from the survivals among ourselves and in the rest of Europe, prove this.

[1] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part 1, 'The Magic Art', vol. ii., p. 7.

CHAPTER XVII

TREE- AND PILLAR-WORSHIP (*continued*)

TREE-worship was, indeed, old before an Aryan set foot in Europe; and though, as we shall see, they had themselves passed beyond the most primitive stage before their arrival here, they probably found the aborigines still in that stage, and hence the fact that the survivals of tree- and pillar-worship among ourselves show traces of both the most primitive and the later ideas.

The most primitive stage is that to which Sir E. B. Tylor has given, as I have shown above, the appropriate name of Animism[1]; and to this stage many of the details in the customs already described evidently belong, while others are as unmistakably derived from the succeeding stages when animism was becoming merged in, or developed into, polytheism. To the savage, whether in Australia, or the islands of the Pacific, or many parts of Africa to-day, or among the primitive races of mankind, the world in general is animate; stocks and stones, plants and trees, animals and men, are all alike animated, and share an interchangeable life. Man conceives of them all as having souls like his own, and treats them accordingly. This is very noticeable in the case of sacred trees when the individual tree is regarded as a conscious personal being, and as such receives adoration and sacrifice. But the fact that tree-worship originated in this stage of thought accounts for its being usually, if not always, found united with other cults, especially with the worship of stones and pillars, which equally embodied a life-principle of their own. This earliest stage of animistic thought must have characterized the first inhabitants of Europe after the passing away of the last Ice Age, and survived among the pre-Aryan races down to the beginning of history. As Mr. Clodd has said:

> The warm climate of Europe at the close of the great Ice Age favoured the growth of vegetation. This, in large degree, explains why, amidst the varied objects of their worship, which included stones as well as living things, that of trees played so leading a part among the [aboriginal inhabitants and their] Aryan [successors]. All through Nature there are the ever-recurring events of birth and death,

[1] Chapter II.

of fruitfulness and decay; hence all the festivals rich in flowers and fruits, and the honour specially paid to trees as the embodiment of the great principle of reproduction. Trees and plants grow, bleed when cut [this feature appears also in a Persian story referred to below], sounds issuing from them sometimes when wounded, wither, become old and die. The life, apparently locked up in the tree during the long winter, bursts out in spring, in summer, in autumn, in bud and leaf, and flower and fruit. The leaves and branches murmur in the zephyrs, moan in the breeze, and shriek in the gale. Was not all this a proof of the indwelling soul, that slept and woke, that died and came to life again? [1]

In this aspect the vernal festival of the May-time, the garlands and the dances and the rejoicings, is the celebration of the awaking of the tree-soul to life again, the annual revival of Nature, the festival of reproduction and new birth. The Mycenaean religion, and the tree- and pillar-cult of the ancient Cretans, described by Sir Arthur Evans, probably continued at this stage from its origin up to 1500 or 1000 B.C., though at the period covered by his discoveries its development into the succeeding stage had already been effected, and the Neolithic peoples, who never got beyond it, have left its impress deeply on the peasantry among the cultured races of to-day, notwithstanding the migrations and wars and changes of 3,000 years.

The connexion between trees and stones as sacred objects is seen as a living belief among the natives of Central Australia to-day, e.g. in the rites performed at the *intichiuma*, or sacred ceremony performed by the members of the Honey-ant and other totems, with the object of increasing the numbers of the members of the totems.[2]

Again, in describing the magic of the natives, Messrs. Spencer and Gillen say, ' Just as the stones marking the spot where the thin animals or men died ' (as previously described by them) ' are associated with magic, so we find the same to hold good in the case of other trees and stones which are associated with special individuals of the Alcheringa. Near to Charlotte Waters, for example, is a tree which sprung up to mark the spot where a blind man died. This tree is called the *Apera Okilchya*, i.e. the blind tree, and the spot where it stands the *Mira Okilchya*,

[1] Cf. *Animism* (1905), pp. 71–8; *Story of Primitive Man* (1895), p. 163.
[2] See Chapter I.

or blind camp. Should this be cut down, it is supposed that the men of the locality in which it grows will become blind; or if anyone wishes to produce blindness in an enemy, all that he has to do is to go alone to the tree, and while rubbing it mutter his desire and an exhortation to the *Arungquiltha* (the magic evil influence) to go forth and afflict his enemy.'[1]

It is curious that the word *Ju-ju* is not West African at all, but a modification of the French word *joujou*, a toy or doll (cf. the May-doll, in the English May-day customs). Miss Mary Kingsley preferred to use the word *Fetish* to describe the West African religion, but she says of it, 'Professor Tylor, most unfortunately for us . . . confines the use of the word to one department of his theory of animism only, viz. to the doctrine of spirits embodied in, or attached to, or conveying influence through, certain material objects . . . but', she continues, 'it cannot be used only in this restricted sense; you want the whole of his grand theory of animism wherewith to describe the religion of the West Africans. For, although there is in that religion a heavy percentage of embodied spirits, there is also a heavier percentage of unembodied spirits—spirits that have no embodiment in matter, and spirits that only occasionally embody themselves in matter.' Again: 'To the African there is, perhaps, no gap between the conception of spirit and matter, animate or inanimate. It is all an affair of grade, not of essential difference in essence . . . the African will point out a lightning-stricken tree, and tell you that its spirit has been killed. . . . In every action of his daily life he shows you how he lives with a great, powerful spirit-world around him.' He is in the Neolithic stage of culture as regards his religious ideas, though the tools and implements of his daily life proclaim him to be in the Iron Age.

Again, she says that 'the higher form of the Fetish idea is Brahmanism', and quotes the following beautiful lines to illustrate her meaning:

> God of the granite and the rose,
> Soul of the lily and the bee,
> The mighty tide of being flows
> In countless channels, Lord, from Thee.

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 187, 265, 336, 337, 552.

It springs to life in grass and flowers,
Through every range of being runs,
And from Creation's mighty towers
Its glory flames in stars and suns.[1]

The study of Sir Arthur Evans' *Mycenaean Tree- and Pillar-Cult*, in which he describes and illustrates his remarkable discoveries in Crete, shows that at the period to which his finds belong the worship of sacred trees and pillars was the predominant factor in Mycenaean religion, as a mere glance at the extent of the objects depicted which present this feature is sufficient to prove, consisting as they do of cylinders (like the Chaldaean), lentoid gems, crystal and gold signet rings, and other articles innumerable; and it had reached that stage in which the sacred tree and its cognate pillar represented the *numen* of the indwelling divinity. As Sir Arthur Evans says: 'This dual cult is, indeed, so widespread that it may be said to mark a definite early stage of religious evolution' (as we have seen, it is not the *earliest*). 'In treating here', he continues, 'of this primitive religious type, the cult of trees and pillars, or rude stones, has been regarded as an identical form of worship.'[2] 'The group', he goes on, 'is, indeed, inseparable, and a special feature of the Mycenaean cult scenes is the constant combination of the sacred tree with pillar or dolmen. The same religious idea—the possession of the material object by the *numen* of the divinity—is common to both. The two forms, moreover, shade off into one another; the living tree can be converted into a column' (as in the case of the maypole) 'or a tree-pillar, retaining the sanctity of the original. No doubt, as compared with the pillar form, the living tree was in some way a more realistic impersonation of the godhead, as a depository of the divine life manifested by its fruits and foliage. In the whispering of its leaves and the melancholy soughing of the breeze was heard, as at Dodona, the actual voice of the divinity. The spiritual possession of the stone or pillar was more temporary in its nature, and the result of a special act of ritual invocation.'[3]

[1] Miss M. Kingsley, *West African Studies*, pp. 96, 102, 109–10.

[2] We have seen how this appears in the customs belonging to May Day, and in much so-called folk-lore—cf. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, ii, pp. 160 *seq.* and 215 *seq.*

[3] For the corresponding ideas of the early Hebrews cf. Gen. iii. 8 and xxviii. 18, and Chapters II and III.

'In India', he proceeds, 'this worship is perhaps best illustrated to-day; and in the druidical worship of the West the tree divinity and the Menhir or stone pillar are associated in a very similar manner, and lingering traditions of their relationship are still traceable in modern folk-lore. To illustrate this we have to go no further afield than the borders of Oxfordshire and Warwickshire. Beside the prehistoric stone fence of Rollright the elder tree still stands hard by the King Stone, about which it is told that when the flowery branch was cut on Midsummer Eve, the tree bled, the stone "moved its head".'[1]

I have quoted Sir Arthur Evans at some length because the positions which he upholds are those which form the thesis of this paper, and because his discoveries in the Minoan palace at Knossus and elsewhere in Crete have proved to be among the most valuable and interesting of the results of recent archaeological spade-work, and have succeeded in bringing to light a flood of evidence as to the life and thought of the people of the Mycenaean Age, which, previously to his investigations and those of Dr. Schliemann at Troy and Tiryns and Mycenae itself, had been wrapped in the impenetrable mists of prehistoric antiquity.

There is thus no doubt that Sir Arthur Evans's discoveries at Knossus prove that in the second millennium before Christ, as the Cretans were then passing into the Bronze Age, so, under the influence of Egypt and of Phoenicia, derived from Babylonian sources, they were passing, or had passed, into the second stage in tree-worship described below. The representations of altars with sacred trees and aniconic pillars prove that, as with the Babylonians, Phoenicians, and Hebrews, the tree and pillar have become the abode of deity, and are no longer regarded as themselves inherently divine.

The same idea is seen as universally prevalent on Assyrian and Chaldaean cylinders and bas-reliefs, in Egyptian representations of the *Ba*, or soul, receiving the lustral water from a tree-goddess, in a Mexican manuscript, in the Bodhi-tree of the Buddhists, in Greek representations of Dionysus and Apollo and Artemis, with the sacred tree and the laurel branch and the olive spray. On an imperial coin of Myra, in Lycia, the bust of the goddess is represented in the foliage of the tree, and in the

[1] Evans, *op. cit.*, pp. 7, 8.

Christian cathedral of St. Mark's, at Venice, the same idea may be seen surviving as ornament when its significance has been lost, for there we find, ' embedded in the walls, high above one's head, a number of ancient sculptured slabs, on each of which a conventionalized plant, with foliage most truthfully and lovingly rendered, is set between two fabulous monsters, as fantastic and impossible as any supporters to be met with in the whole range of heraldry '.[1]

Representations of the sacred tree, or trees, are also found in Norman sculpture on the tympana of doorways, as at Ashford, in Derbyshire; or on fonts, as at Burnham Deepdale, in Norfolk; though these, as well as, perhaps, those at St. Mark's, may be more directly derived from the story of Paradise in Genesis, with its sacred trees, the Tree of Life and the Tree of Knowledge of Good and Evil, and the speaking Dragon-serpent. Mention of this, however, at once reminds us that we have in that story the later Hebrew version, purified and adapted to moral ends, of ideas of world-wide prevalence, which were as common in China as they were in Egypt and Chaldaea, which are found in Greece in the shape of the tree which bore the golden apples of the Hesperides, guarded by the dragon, slain by Heracles, and which are seen in their latest living significance in the Yggdrasil tree of the Eddas, already referred to. Whether the stone set up ' for a pillar ' by Jacob at Bethel and the stones set ' for a witness ' at Gilgal belonged to the same stage of development may be uncertain, but at least we may see in them a testimony, conscious or unconscious, to the old connexion between tree- and pillar-worship, and the association of tree and pillar, apart or, as usually, together, with the presence of the divinity. The patriarchs, from Abraham downwards, erected their altars beside the giant oaks or terebinths, just as ' amongst the Canaanites every altar to the god had its sacred tree beside it; and when the Israelites established local sanctuaries under their influence, they set up their altar under a green tree, and planted beside it as its indispensable accompaniment an *ashera*, which was either a living tree or a tree-like post. . . . This *ashera* was undoubtedly worshipped as a sacred symbol of the deity, for

[1] For this and some of the preceding references I am indebted to *The Sacred Tree*, by Mrs. J. H. Philpot, where also illustrations may be seen.

" in early times Tree-worship had such a vogue in Canaan that the sacred tree, or the pole its surrogate, had come to be viewed as a general symbol of deity ".'[1] As Sir Arthur Evans points out, the pillars in front of Phoenician temples, the idea of which Solomon borrowed in the two pillars *Jachin* and *Boaz* (the names are significant)[2] in front of the temple at Jerusalem, and which reappear in the Mycenaean cult in Crete and elsewhere, though they may have originally served a *structural* purpose in the primitive wooden buildings as pillars of the house, yet served a far more important religious purpose, as being themselves the shrine and symbol of deity, and ensuring the presence of the divinity, and his support and blessing to the house.

Among Mohammedans very interesting survivals of both tree- and pillar-worship may still be discovered. The Persians have the legend of the sacred tree from which blood oozed when it was felled—a story which is also found in many widely scattered localities; and they tell of the *túba*, the Tree of Happiness, which stands in the palace of Mohammed, above the seven heavens, immediately under the throne of God; while Sir Arthur Evans gives a graphic account of this worship as he actually witnessed it carried out at a place called Tekekeöi, in Macedonia, and similar examples abound in the seldom-trod byways of the East.

The Persian Tales are as follows:

Legend of the Sacred Tree

Meanwhile my guide, having struck up acquaintance with a countryman of his from Hamadan, was engaged in conversation with him. This new friend, Murshid Khan by name, was a tall swarthy fellow. He had come to buy a chip of the sacred tree talh', an acacia which has small round golden blossoms, whereof he related the following legend:—' Many centuries ago a certain peasant went to cut wood in a forest near the city of Hamadan. This he had been wont to do every winter in order to eke out his livelihood during the cold weather, as is still the custom among the peasantry in our parts. Now it chanced that his axe struck against a branch of a talh' which, as it happened, was in the way of the tree he was felling. To his consternation a stream of blood oozed out, followed by cries the

[1] Philpot, *The Sacred Tree*, p. 8. Her quotation is from Robertson Smith's *Religion of the Semites*, p. 189.

[2] Jachin = He will establish; Boaz = In Him is strength.

most pitiable he had ever heard. They seemed, in their distressful anguish, to come from the heart of a mother that had lost her child. The axe fell from the peasant's hand, and he himself sank to the ground in a faint. When he recovered consciousness it was to look for the talh', only to find it gone! He returned to the city as fast as his legs would carry him, and there he told his story, which was spread abroad among the people. And from that day to this the wood of the talh' has been regarded as sacred. Children use it in the place of mázús, and barren women, if they hang a chip of it above their beds for the space of forty consecutive Fridays, will bear children in due course. This is so.'

Here the guide, Seyyid 'Alí, interrupted the speaker, saying, ' Light of my heart, thou speakest the truth. In my country, in the town of Behbehan, near Shíráz, we have a famous way of protecting our womenfolk against the attacks of Aal—that cursed ogress who comes to cut out the liver of every mother after the birth of her child. First we draw four lines round the walls of the house; then at each of the four corners we plant a branch of the talh' tree; and a dagger, with an onion atop, is stuck in the ground facing the door. This is the only possible way of keeping Aal out—may she be accursed! '

The Tree of Happiness

The prayer most acceptable to God is that of Nodbeh, which must be said by the pilgrims on Mount Arafat, with tears pouring from their eyes. The Prophet rose to a noble conception of the next life. He not only believed that the pure-hearted will see God; he also proclaimed that blessing to be the height of heavenly bliss. The Muslim Paradise, therefore, in its material aspect unalloyed, is the invention of the tradition-mongers. According to the orthodox among them, it is situated above the seven heavens, immediately under the Throne of God. Some say that the soil of it consists of the finest wheat flour, others will have it to be of the purest musk, and others again of saffron. Its palaces have walls of solid gold, its stones are pearls and jacinths, and of its trees, all of which have golden trunks, the most remarkable is the Tree of Happiness, Túba, as they call it. This tree, which stands in the palace of Muhammad, is laden with fruits of every kind, with grapes and pomegranates, with oranges and dates, and peaches and nectarines, which are of a growth and a flavour unknown to mortals. In response to the desire of the blessed, it will yield, in addition to the luscious fruit, not only birds ready dressed for the table, but also flowing garments of silk and of velvet, and gaily caparisoned steeds to ride on, all of which will burst out from its leaves.

There will be no need to reach out the hand to the branches, for the branches will bend down of their own accord to the hand of the person who would gather of their products. So large is the Túba tree that a man 'mounted on the fleetest horse would not be able to gallop from one end of its shade to the other in a hundred years'. All the rivers of Paradise take their rise from the root of the Tree of Happiness; some of them flow with water, some with milk, some with wine, and others with honey. Their beds are of musk, their sides of saffron, their earth of camphire, and their pebbles are rubies and emeralds. The most noteworthy among them, after the River of Life, is Al-Káwthar. This word Al-Káwthar, which signifies abundance, has come to mean the gift of prophecy, and the water of the river of that name is derived into Muhammad's pond. According to a tradition of the Prophet, this river, wherein his Lord promised him abundance of wisdom, is whiter than milk, cooler than snow, sweeter than honey, and smoother than cream; and those who drink of it shall never be thirsty.[1]

In the *Zend-Avesta* of the old Persians we read of a tree named *Hôm*, or *Haôma*, which imparts immortality, and is called the King of Trees. This *Hôm* or *Haôma* was a white tree said to grow in the middle of the mythic sea Vouru-Kasha. It would be by drinking of its juice on the day of resurrection that man would become immortal. Everywhere, even in New Zealand, we find the same stories. In Babylonian, and Persian, and Hebrew legend, either in a Paradise of the past, or, as adapted by the Christian Apostle and by Mohammed after him, in a Paradise of the future, grows the Sacred Tree, with its multiplicity of life-giving fruits and its healing leaves, and beside it is situated the Sacred Fountain. Look where we will, we find ' that man ', casting an intelligent eye over the wrongs and inequalities of this earthly life, ' has ever looked on this present world as a passing scene in the shifting panorama of time, to be followed by some period of millennial glory '.

The ceremony at Tekekeöi is thus described by Sir Arthur Evans:

A roomy, mud-floored ante-chamber, made for the convenience of the worshippers, communicated by an inner doorway with the shrine of the stone itself. The ' holy of holies ' within was a plain

[1] W. Sparroy and Hadji Khan, *With the Pilgrims to Mecca*, 1905, pp. 275–6, 58–9. Cf. ' the Tree of Life ', Gen. ii. and Rev. xxii.

square chamber, in the centre of which rose the sacred pillar. Like the baetylic [1] stones of antiquity, it might be said to have ' fallen from heaven ', for, according to the local legend, it had flown here over a thousand years since from Khorassan. The pillar consisted of an upright stone of square section, with bevelled angles, about $6\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and $1\frac{1}{4}$ feet thick, supporting another smaller and somewhat irregular block. Both were black and greasy from secular anointing, recalling the time-honoured practice of pouring oil on sacred stones as Jacob did at Bethel.[2]

Sir Arthur then describes the surroundings, the antique candlesticks standing on a sunk hearthstone in front of the pillars, and the fleeces of sacrificed rams strewing the floor, and continues:

Taking his stand on a flat stone by the pillar, the suppliant utters a prayer for what he most wishes, and afterwards embraces the stone in such a way that the finger-tips meet at its further side [some also kiss it]. The worshipper who would conform to the full ritual now fills a keg of water from a spring that rises near the shrine—another primitive touch [cf. the water drawn from the pool of Siloam at the Feast of Tabernacles in the Jewish ritual, a primitive survival]—and makes his way through a thorny grove up a neighbouring knoll, on which is a wooden enclosure surrounding a Mohammedan saint's grave or Tekhi. Over the headstone of this grows a thorn-tree hung with rags of divers colours, attached to it—according to a wide-spread primitive rite—by sick persons who had made a pilgrimage to the tomb. The turbaned column itself represents in aniconic shape the visible presence of the departed saint, and, conjointly with the thorn-bush, a material abode for the departed spirit, so that we have here a curious illustration of the ancient connexion between Tree- and Pillar-worship.

Various other ceremonies, including the sacrifice of a young ram, remain to be performed, after which the worshippers return to the shrine. ' Here,' says Sir Arthur Evans, who himself took part in the ceremonies, ' beneath the same roof with

[1] It has been suggested that the Greek terms *βαίτυλος* and *βαιτύλιον* (applied in a special way to the stone which, according to Cretan legend, was swallowed by Kronos under the belief that it was his son) are derived from Bethel, or some parallel form, indicating the stone as the temporary place of indwelling for a divinity.

[2] Gen. xxviii. 18; xxxv. 14. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, p. 232. Cf. Ps. xlv. 7, and the existing custom of anointing kings and ecclesiastical dignitaries; see above, Chapters I–III.

the stone, and within sight of it through the open doorway, we were bidden to pass the night, so that the occult influences due to its spiritual possession might shape our dreams as in the days of the patriarchs.' [1]

The Persian legends point back to the earliest stage—that which I have called pre-Aryan—in tree-worship; the custom described by Evans is a survival of the second stage, which we will now proceed to discuss.

This second stage, at which the Aryan peoples had for the most part arrived by the time history takes cognizance of them, is to regard the tree, not as a body animated, like man himself, by a living soul, but as the home and abode of a tree-spirit, though it is not always possible to fix the dividing line with perfect exactness. Thus when we read, as in Ireland, of sacred trees which may not be cut down because they are the seat of spirits, we cannot always say with certainty in which way the presence of the spirit in the tree is conceived. The familiar lines of Shelley, quoted by Tylor, well express this hesitancy:

> Whether the sensitive plant, or that
> Which within its boughs like a spirit sat
> Ere its outward form had known decay,
> Now felt this change, I cannot say.

But in many cases, even where no mention is made of wood-spirits, we may generally assume, says Frazer, that when trees or groves are sacred and inviolable, it is because they are believed to be either animated or inhabited by sylvan deities. In Greek classical thought, the ' Dryads ' were the spirits or tutelary divinities of the woods. Like most of the Olympians, Artemis was connected not only with beast-worship but with plant-worship. She was known by the name of Daphnoea and Cedreatis. At Ephesus not only the olive but the oak was sacred to her. At Delos she had her palm tree. Her idol was placed in or hung from the branches of these trees, and it is not improbable that she succeeded to the honours of a tree worshipped in itself and for itself, or of the spirit or genius dwelling in and informing it. Artemis was therefore originally a wood goddess. Dionysus also was originally a tree-spirit, just as he

[1] Evans, *Mycenaean Tree- and Pillar-Cult*, pp. 104–6.

was also an animal god, absorbing in his rights and titles various older forms of both tree- and beast-worship. He was called *Dendrites*, and as such succeeded, like Artemis, to the cult of certain sacred trees; just as, says Lang, St. Bridget in Ireland succeeded to the cult of the fire goddess and to her ceremonial. He is also called ἔνδενδρος, or the 'god in the tree'. As a god he is not only the patron of the vine and of the fig tree, but also of all pleasant trees; the festival of the δενδροφορία, as described in the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles, is held in his honour, and our May-day festivities are but a faint and far-off and innocent echo of the Bacchanalia, and like them embody in their rites the relics of the elder primitive faiths.

Similar examples of one creed inheriting the holy things of its predecessor are common enough, where either the missionaries, as in Mexico and China, or the early preachers of the Gospel, in Brittany or Scandinavia, appropriated to Christ the holy days of pagan deities, and consecrated fetish stones with the mark of the Cross. Unluckily we have no historical evidence as to the moment in which the ancient tribal totems, fetishes, and sacrifices were placed under the protection of the various Olympians, in whose cult they survive like flies in amber. But that this process did take place is the most obvious explanation of the rude factors in the religion of Artemis, as of Apollo, Zeus, or Dionysus—as also of the rustic May sports of the English and European peasantry in the twentieth century of Christianity.[1]

So also all the attributes of Diana, the goddess of the Arician grove, are those of a tree-spirit or sylvan deity. Every grove was her sanctuary. Like a tree-spirit she helped women in trouble; she was the protectress of domestic cattle; she made the rain to fall, the sun to shine.[2]

Still, in this later stage, when a tree, or trees in general, have come to be looked upon no longer as embodying a tree-spirit but as its home, which it can quit at pleasure, a real advance has been made. Animism is passing, by way of anthropomorphism, into polytheism. Hence in classical art the deities of the woods and forests, like all the gods and goddesses, are depicted in human shape.

[1] Lang, *Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, vol. ii, pp. 228ff.

[2] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part II, 'The Magic Art', i. 12; ii. 380.

Among savages, it is the tree-spirits who make the crops to grow, the herds to multiply, and through them women are blessed with offspring. Hence Dionysus is the god of reproduction, and Diana, under the name of Lucina, presides over childbirths.

The tree-spirit, being free to depart and take up his (or her, for, as we may understand from the later mythology here referred to, tree-spirits were conceived of as male and female, and could be even married together) abode when and where he (or she) would, might select a pole or a stone as equally suitable for a dwelling-place, and a relic of this ancient thought is contained in the lines attributed to our Lord in the Oxyrhynchus Papyrus:

> Raise thou the stone, and find Me there;
> Cleave thou the wood, and there am I.[1]

What has been said, therefore, explains the origin of the Maypole. It takes the place of the sacred tree, and is endowed with all its properties. Hence the May trees set up in Germany at the doors of stables and byres. Hence the green bough of a tree which, as Camden says of the Irish, ' they fasten on May Day against the house, to produce plenty of milk that summer'. Hence the common European custom, already referred to, of placing a green bush on May Day before or on the house of a beloved maiden, which probably originated in the belief in the fertilizing power of the tree-spirit. Hence the reason why customs like the May tree or Maypole are so universal in the popular festivals of European peasants.

A still later stage is that represented by the May-doll carried in the garlands, and by the King or Queen of the May, viz. when the tree-spirit is conceived as detached from the tree and clothed in human form, as in the imperial coin from Myra in Lycia, mentioned above, and even as embodied in living men and women; when it is on the way, in fact, to becoming a divinity, which finally takes shape as Dionysus and Artemis, Bacchus and Diana; or, the dignity of the male divinity, who only survives as Jack-in-the-Green, being dropped, the Queen of the May becomes clothed with all the virgin glories and splendid possibilities of the ever-blessed Mary, the Queen of Heaven.

[1] Cf. Chapter I.

We have not touched on many other interesting customs, more or less surviving to the present day, in our own and other lands, connected with other seasons of the year, or with Church Festivals, which undoubtedly bespeak a connexion with the old worship of trees as plainly as do the May-day customs and other rites we have dealt with. Such, for example, are the customs of decking the church with flowers and fruit at the revived Harvest Festivals now so universal, and those with which we are all so familiar at Christmas. In that festival we find combined the Saturnalia of Rome, the ancient Yule-tide Festival of Scandinavia, and the Christian Feast of the Nativity. Then the churches and houses are decorated with holly and evergreens, and not only so, but the Sacred Tree itself is annually reproduced, to the delight of old and young, in the shape of the Christmas Tree. As Mrs. Philpot well says: 'Modern as it is in its present form, the Christmas Tree epitomizes many most ancient ideas; is the point to which many streams converge, whose source is hidden in a far-distant antiquity. It is the meeting-point of the old pagan belief in the virtues vested in the tree and of the quaint fancies of the Middle Ages, which loved to see spiritual truths embodied in material forms. Christ, the Tree of Life, blossoming on Christmas Eve in Mary's bosom; the fatal tree of Paradise whence sprang the Cross, the instrument of man's salvation—that " fruit-bearing, heavenly nourished tree, planted in the midst of redeemed men ", so often represented in medieval art; the miracle of nature so stirred by the wonder of the event as to break forth into blossom in the midst of winter—all these ideas, so characteristic of medieval thought, become grafted together with observances derived from solstitial worship, upon the stock of the sacred tree, laden with offerings and decked with fillets. Indeed, the Christmas Tree may be said to recapitulate the whole story of tree-worship —the May tree, the Harvest tree, the Greek εἰρεσιώνη, the tree as the symbol and embodiment of deity, and last, but not least, the Universe tree, bearing the lights of heaven for its fruit, and covering the world with its branches.'[1]

The question has been asked, Why should you not ascend higher than the Neolithic Age in seeking for the origin of tree-

[1] Philpot, *The Sacred Tree*, 172–3.

and pillar-worship? The answer is simple, viz. that we are led hereby to the period of the passing away of the last great Ice Age, and we know too little of the ideas of the Palaeolithic races to be able to say anything with certainty as to them—else were it easy to see in the worship of both trees and serpents an evidence of the arboreal habits of the first evolved specimens of the human race, and to say that living in the trees of the forest the only creature whose attack early man had to fear was the serpent, and that therefore, by a natural instinct, he worshipped the tree that sheltered him, and the serpent whom he dreaded. This is certainly plausible, and may, no doubt, contain an element of truth.[1]

To revert to that which has formed the principal subject of our consideration: the main details of the May-day Festival, and the other rites and customs connected with sacred trees, as they still survive in, alas, too few, and a rapidly diminishing number of, localities in modern England, are seen to have their roots fixed in a far-distant past, when the races inhabiting Europe were in the stage of development represented by the native Australians and other primitive races to-day, and to embody in themselves three distinct stages of primitive but ever-advancing thought and culture—the first may be distinguished in Europe as pre-Aryan, the two latter as Aryan; and as such it is surely not too much to express a pious hope that where, and in so far as, they still survive, they may be jealously preserved, as precious landmarks in the history of mankind. True it is, *nulla vestigia retrorsum*, but yet it is allowable to wish for the maintenance and transmission to posterity of those relics of the past which are still to be found here and there, ' enshrined like flies in amber ' in the midst of our twentieth-century life, and which tell, in accents more eloquent than words, that ' though the goal is long in winning, and the paths are oft-times rough, yet humanity is led by "a way that it knows not" ': progress is the law of the ages, and the mind of man grows ever broader and deeper and higher in thought and feeling with the passage of the suns.

I spoke at the commencement of this study of a modern

[1] But see Chapter XIII. We know now a good deal about the religious ideas of the men of Aurignacian times; what is said above refers rather to the men of the Mousterian (Neanderthal) and earlier periods.

aspect of tree-worship, *tree-culture* rather than *tree-cult*, in which it may be of great practical value, and not merely interesting for the study of early folk-lore and folk-religion. It may be, and probably is, too late to galvanize the customs connected with May Day into new life, and when they have died out it is impossible to revive them. But a younger nation, one that has no associations with a past more than three hundred years back, has shown the way to a practical expression of a love for trees, and one that may bear good and useful fruit in the future. As I pointed out in a letter some years ago to the *Morning Post*, it is to the New World, to the United States of North America, that it has been left to establish a new vernal festival under the name of Arbor Day. This is the more remarkable, for, as Sir George Birdwood has said, among the Protestant Anglo-Saxons of North America the historical tradition of the divinity of the tree would naturally be weak; yet so strong is the feeling of actual consanguinity and fellowship and of worship, with which all men, and emphatically the Aryan races, regard the tree, that this feeling forced its way to the surface, and would not be repressed. In America this beneficent festival is a movable feast, the date of its celebration varying, according to the climatic conditions of the different States, from the 1st of April to the 31st of May. It was first held in Nebraska, on a resolution of the Board of Agriculture, moved by Mr. J. Stirling Morton, setting apart the 10th of April, 1872, as 'Tree-planting Day'. In April, 1874, the second Wednesday of April was proclaimed as 'Arbor Day', and in 1885 the 22nd of April was permanently fixed as Arbor Day for Nebraska. In 1876 Michigan and Minnesota followed suit, and finally New York in 1888; in which year, on the 30th of April, an Act was passed decreeing that 'the Friday following the 1st of May in each year shall hereafter be known throughout this State as Arbor Day'. By a popular vote of the State schools the 'white elm' was declared to be the 'Tree of the State', and the rose of spring, in all its grace of budding beauty, the 'Queen of Flowers'. Perhaps they were thinking of the monumental brass formerly in Westminster Abbey, bearing a crowned rose with the legend round it—

Sis Rosa, flos florum
Morbis medicina meorum.

The United States were at once imitated by the Dominion of Canada; and in 1896 by Spain, where King Alphonso XIII fixed the 26th of March for the annual celebration of the *Fiesta del Arbol*. So far I have followed the account given by Sir George Birdwood.

The idea has also been taken up in Italy, and has been entered into *con amore* by the enthusiastic people of that sunny land. It is thus described by 'Cisalpine' in the *Guardian* for May 21st, 1902. The writer is lamenting the decay of the Church festivals, owing to the occupation of Rome and the downfall of the Temporal Power, and continues: 'What struck me many years ago has received some emphasis quite lately in the institution of a secular Italian festival, *la festa degli alberi*, which has been variously commented on in the Italian press. This new national festival has many of the elements of the best pagan ideal. One feels the heat of the sun-god, beneath whose touch all nature turns to thoughts of growth; the scent of the fields, the green of the new verdure, the blue of the hills, the rhythmic swing of the southern footstep, the laugh of children's voices, a sense that all nature is awake, accompany us as we wind up the hill, rich with Latin history, to plant new trees. Local officials, even the King himself, the people in holiday guise and holiday mind, the school children, girls and boys, walk or drive in the procession; for this is a public holiday, a national fête, an ode to the spring.' This is how one of the Italian journals speaks of the fête: 'Long ranks of girls in the fields, freed from the exercises of a sterile piety in the convent or the sacristy, as though blessing with the fresh smile of their opening beauty the vital works of nature, and emulating in trials of physical strength the youths who to-morrow will be the companions of their maternal power—whence will be born to Italy brave citizen-workers for the commonweal—such a spring vision, persuading by its beauty and strength, must certainly prepare the way for the accomplishment of those sacred duties from which the country expects an ever more propitious future.'

Stripped of its more open paganism, one asks: Is it impossible that such a beauteous festival of the springtime should once more become universal in England? And what better time of year could be suggested than some date within the three spring

months, April to June? Some spasmodic attempts have been made to establish such a festival, and a suggestion has been made that it should be fixed for November 1st, with a view to replanting our worn-out apple-orchards, and promoting the cultivation of fruit trees generally. There is something in this suggestion, inasmuch as the apple was undoubtedly one of the sacred trees which the first Aryan immigrants brought with them from the Continent into the British Isles—a subject on which I have said nothing here, as it was exhaustively dealt with by the late Dr. Phené—and it was the apple tree of the prehistoric Celtic immigrants that gave to the whole peninsula of the 'West of England' (Gloucestershire, Somerset, Dorset, Devon, and Cornwall), stretching vaguely from roving Camelot to Lyonesse, 'the wave-worn kingdom of romance', the name of 'ancient Avalon' (Avelion, *Avaloniae Insula*, 'Apple Island'): 'Deep-meadowed, happy, fair with orchard lawns, and bow'ry hollows, crowned with summer seas.' But the season is too late. It is much better to keep to the time consecrated from of old, and make of Arbor Day, the Festival of the Trees, a veritable spring or summer festival. St. George's Day is too early, May Day is already appropriated to other though kindred associations. Midsummer Day would be very suitable—what indeed could be more fitting and more practical than to institute an annually recurring Arbor Day in the month of June, devoted to the planting of trees, as part of a national and universal festival? I still see no reason why this should not be done. It was carried out in connexion with the Jubilees of Queen Victoria in my own village, and notably by Mr. E. D. Till at Eynsford, in Kent, and no doubt in many other places also. But I should like to see it national and universal; an Arbor Day Society exists, and it cannot do better than turn its attention to this proposal for carrying out its objects.

Trees are no longer worshipped, and we do not need the pagan associations which seem to be revived in Italy; oaks are no longer required for our navy; but trees are not merely an ornament to the landscape, they are a necessary adjunct to the fertility of the soil, and of great importance to the climate. We cannot hope, nor would we wish, to restore the mighty forests of the past, but anything that can be done to prevent further

denudation and to maintain the beauty of our English countryside will be of untold value to the generations to come.

Moreover, it will be one more means of adding to the gaiety of the nation, of bringing youths and maidens together in innocent enjoyment, full of rich possibilities for the future, and of doing something, though but a little, to hinder the prostitution of English twentieth-century village life.[1]

[1] There seems now to be much useful work done by the Forestry Commission, and the Schools of Forestry in our universities—e.g. at Oxford. See *Forestry* (the journal of the Society of Foresters of Great Britain, founded 1925 for the advance and spread of the knowledge of technical forestry in all its aspects), and other recent publications.

CHAPTER XVIII

PRIMITIVE SACRAMENTALISM

THE subject of this chapter is Sacramentalism as it exists in the present or existed in the past among races in a condition of primitive savagery or barbarism. This is necessary if we are to understand the place of sacraments in the cult and ritual of the Christian Church throughout her history.

When we cast our eyes back upon the beginnings of the Church as she is found immediately after the withdrawal of her Master, it appears that the Apostles commissioned by Him went forth preaching ' the Gospel of the Kingdom ' and proclaiming as the condition of entry and membership two things: Baptism (followed by the Laying on of Hands—what is now called Confirmation) and the Breaking of the Bread. The first carried with it the promise of the remission of sins repented of and the gift of a new life, described as being ' in the Holy Ghost ' or ' in Christ '; the second was proclaimed as the means whereby that new life was maintained through union with the now glorified Christ by partaking of His Body and Blood in the eating of the broken bread and the drinking of the wine shared by all.

Leaving on one side all further reference here to the New Testament, I will introduce my subject by referring to a passage in Professor Lake's writings in which he expresses his view of the matured teaching of St. Paul with regard to Baptism; the same holds true with regard to the Eucharist (Rom. vi, and 1 Cor. x and xi).

Professor Lake tells us that ' Baptism is, for St. Paul and his readers, universally accepted as a " mystery " or sacrament which works *ex opere operato*; and from the unhesitating manner in which St. Paul uses this fact as a basis for argument, as if it were a point on which Christian opinion did not vary, it would seem as though this sacramental teaching is central in the primitive Christianity to which the Roman Empire began to be converted '. So by the time of Ignatius Baptism could be spoken of as ' the Bath of Regeneration ' (cf. Titus iii. 5), and the Eucharist as the ' Food of Immortality '. Thus, as Lake

says, ' the Catholic doctrine is more nearly primitive than the Protestant '. Nevertheless, he adds, ' the Catholic advocate in winning his case has proved still more: the type of doctrine which he defends is not only primitive, but pre-Christian '.[1]

Professor Lake is perfectly right; we must dive deeper than the rites of Greek secret societies or of the mystery religions. These ideas, entirely on a line with primitive religion and derived from Animism, were in the air, and were most repugnant to the advanced Judaism of our Lord's day, but we may suppose that He took them and invested them with a high spiritual content.[2] Like all great teachers, He was far in advance of the apprehension of His followers, who soon debased His ideas to the level of their own material conceptions. *Corruptio optimi pessima.* The fully-developed system of Catholicism is a syncretism of Christianity not merely with the higher forms of paganism with which it came in contact in its early days, but with those elements of primitive religion which lie at the root of human nature, which are in us all however cultured we may be, and which still survive almost unchanged in the uncultured masses of mankind. To demonstrate this will be our endeavour in this chapter—to show briefly from beliefs and customs still held and practised by those races that are not yet emerged from savagery or barbarism what is the common origin of all in that far distant past when primitive Man first looked out with curious eye upon the strange world in which he had to live and fight for his existence. Thus we have been led by sure steps to our proper subject, which is Primitive Sacramentalism.

One of the most fascinating studies that can engage the mind of a thinking man is that of ' origins ', i.e. the endeavour to discover the beginnings and significance of customs, social and religious, in the midst and full efflorescence of which he finds himself placed; and in pursuing this study he will find himself inevitably carried further and further into the ' backward and abysm of time ', and will come in contact with those social and religious elements from which he has been accustomed fondly to

[1] Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 215, 233, 385. Professor Glover quotes these passages in his *Paul of Tarsus*, p. 162, and attempts to refute the argument, but without success.

[2] For we may at the least assume that the germ of actual teaching on the part of Jesus lies at the basis of St. John's meditations, John iii and vi.

imagine himself to have been emancipated in the progress of the race from savagery and barbarism to culture and civilization; and he will find ideas connected with their origin still alive and actively vigorous among those who occupy the lower strata of the civilization of which only the veneer, and that of the thinnest, has touched them.

This fact has been more and more forcibly brought to the front by the science of Anthropology, including folk-lore, which investigates the thought and custom of primitive races in the far past and in our own day. Multitudes of explorers, observers, and students have been and are engaged in this investigation, and it is well it is so, for, as Sir J. G. Frazer, one of the greatest of them, reminds us, the primitive races are fast dying out, or entering the bonds of a sudden process of civilization, and it will soon be too late to study them in their pristine simplicity,[1] and among ourselves the drabness of a universal system of elementary education is fast eliminating any remains of primitive thought and custom which still survive. But these do yet survive, and superstition, which after all is only survival, still rears its head among us, and often in the most unexpected quarters.

If what we have been saying is true of the origin of most social customs and of religious rites and ceremonies, it is true in a very special degree of those which are associated with the idea of sacraments. Here we come right up against the very fundamental thought of primitive man as he looks out upon the world in which he finds himself living. In a striking passage in *Middlemarch* George Eliot tells us that all Nature is sacramental; the sun setting in his glory, the sea in storm and calm, the verdant woods and the dancing streams, all Nature is but the radiant cloak of the Divine, or, as Pope puts it, ' Nature the body is, and God the soul '.

This is entirely on the lines of primitive thought, only, instead of ' God ', primitive man says ' spirits '. The deeper we

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, preface, vol. i, p. xv, and passim. Cf. Meek, *The Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, vol. i, preface by Sir Hugh Clifford: ' With the coming of new ideas, new ambitions and aspirations, and a new outlook upon life, it is almost incredible how short a time is needed for the obliteration of old-world customs and of ancient landmarks among primitive peoples.'

penetrate the more true we shall find it that this principle runs through all man's relations with Nature and with his fellows, i.e. the interpenetration of the outward and the inward, of the material and the spiritual. We know that our senses do not reveal to us reality except through interpretation; our eyes behold a sunset, the poet sees 'worlds unrealized'; as Wordsworth said:

> My heart leaps up when I behold
> A rainbow in the sky.

Our eyes see, our ears hear the written or spoken word: the mind interprets: words themselves are sacramental.

And primitive man is a poet essentially—without knowing it. He envisages Nature through Animism, i.e. the idea of souls. Whatever else he is ignorant of, he knows that he is alive, and he is living in the midst not only of fellow human beings but of animals who share a similar life; trees and plants grow and pass through the changes of the seasons—they too are alive; further, the heavenly bodies rise and set and pass through other changes; the wind blows, now violently, now softly as a child's kiss; a rock falls on him and inflicts a blow. So, he argues, everything is alive, possessing a life that lies not in the thing itself, but in its soul or souls; for primitive man is conscious that he possesses more souls than one—three, or perhaps four—his waking soul, which leaves his body in sleep and wanders into the world of dreams; his bush soul, which will leave him at times to be interchanged with that of some denizen of the forest; his shadow soul, which pursues him as he walks facing the sun, and which if stepped upon inadvertently, or worse, designedly by some crafty foe may work him deadly harm; and the soul which finally leaves his body at death and never returns. And if he possesses these various spiritual essences, why not those others too?

Finding himself thus in the midst of a world of living things and of forces some of which are friendly, others—and alas! the majority—the reverse, he would seek some means of controlling or bending them to his will. Hence arise magic and religion —magic chiefly in the form that is called sympathetic, because this is by far the most useful; religion, springing from a sense of awe and wonder when magic fails, as in the end it does—and so he is led to worship, in which he entreats instead of trying to

command. But magic survives, and magic and religion combined are of the essence of sacramentalism.

At first primitive man does not differentiate between the ' living thing ' and that which makes it alive, e.g. he worships the ' Tree-spirit ' before he worships the ' Spirit in the Tree '; but the one soon follows the other, and hence arise all that we call Fetishism, Shamanism, Polytheism, and Idolatry. In the case of the latter, the most unenlightened of savages will tell you that he does not worship the stock or stone or image itself, but the spirit that inhabits it.

Thus magic may, and probably did, precede religion in the order of time, and the origin of religion may be found in man's discovery of the failure of magic; but in practice we find the two going hand in hand in all ages and in every race that we are acquainted with.

Socially, the first aggregations of human beings would be, as in the case of the more intelligent of the lower animals, the horde, with the bravest and most virile of its members recognized as its chosen leaders; on this followed the association of several hordes, consisting of a number of families, in tribes and clans. Not all the members were deemed capable of exercising magical or religious functions, any more than all could be leaders, chiefs, or kings—democracy is a system unknown to primitive man—and thus before long there arose the special classes of magicians and priests, or, as in the case of the Australian natives, the Wirreenun, or Wise Men, who combined the two offices; the witch doctors in Africa and elsewhere hold an analogous position.

These by their magic arts essayed to control, or by a system of sacrifices to propitiate, the spirits, and promote the welfare of the clan or tribe or individual. Sacrifice would appear in the first instance to have been of human victims, a custom which long endured; later on this was exchanged in many cases for animal or even vegetable offerings, and in its essence it was a gift offered to a higher power.

One of the principal functions of the magician was the infusing of power by means of incantations into certain people or objects. The objects might be pebbles or shells or sharks' teeth, or what not; thus a beneficial effect was bestowed on the wearer

which rendered him immune to all hostile influences. This idea of power attached to persons or amulets is known as *Mana* in the Pacific, as *Orenda* in North America, and by various names in other parts of the world, and is of world-wide prevalence, coming down from the highest antiquity.[1]

If then we are to discover the true implication of the place occupied by sacraments in the Christian religion it can only be accomplished by tracing out the ideas which lay at the root of the psychology of the peoples among whom Christianity first spread, and this can only be carried through, as in our own case to-day, by piercing the crust of superimposed ideas due to all manner of sources derived from the evolution of culture, down to those ideas, the most powerful of all, derived from the common heritage of mankind in its first primitive outlook on the world. These, as we have said, are summed up in the word Animism. Primitive religion is animistic and Animism implies sacraments.

We have been taking the idea in its widest connotation; we will now investigate what Animism has to show us in regard to the two rites recognized by our own Church as sacraments. The definition, as we all know, is that a sacrament is 'the outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given, ordained by Christ Himself', and accordingly the sacraments are confined to the two: Baptism and the Eucharist. The Church of Rome, retaining here as elsewhere more of primitive thought, includes five other rites, Confirmation, which is really a part of and the completion of Baptism, Penance, Matrimony, Orders, and Extreme Unction. In respect of Matrimony she has the sanction of St. Paul himself, who speaks of it as 'a great mystery', *μέγα μυστήριον*, the Greek word equivalent to sacrament. But leaving these on one side let us take the two sacraments of universal obligation in the Christian Church, i.e. Baptism, including Confirmation, and the Eucharist; each of these is represented among primitive races, and if we are to enter into their full meaning it can only be by a sympathetic study of their fundamental conceptions as we find them in varying stages of

[1] Obermaier, *Der Mensch der Vorzeit*, pp. 236–58; Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon*, pp. 147 ff.; *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. xliii, pp. 325–74 (see Chapter V).

progress from savagery and barbarism at the present time. In all these races we find one or other or both sets of ceremonies corresponding more or less with these sacraments : i.e. we find rites of initiation and of fellowship or communion, and the meaning attached to these rites is practically the same everywhere, viz. (1) a new birth; and (2) the sacramental meal which consists not merely in the common partaking of food by the god and his worshipper, but in the actual partaking of the god by the worshipper, i.e. the offering of which the worshipper partakes is itself the god.

One of the concomitants of the animistic stage of religion was the institution of Totemism as the basis of social arrangements. In spite of Sir J. G. Frazer's hesitation, it is held by many competent authorities that Totemism prevailed everywhere among the early races of mankind, and that it was a necessary stage in man's advance, as I have set forth in Chapter IV of this book.[1]

Into the origin of Totemism I must not attempt to enter here, but with Sir J. G. Frazer I would say that while Totemism is not itself a religion it is on the way to becoming so,[2] and is a necessary and as it were inevitable outcome of Animism. For it implies a natural kinship between man and certain objects which are on the way to becoming gods.

Some few illustrations, drawn from various sources, must suffice to show the bearing of what has just been said upon our subject and what we mean by primitive sacramentalism. We cannot here attempt to adduce examples of the adumbrations of sacramentalism which may be discovered in primitive folklore.

At the risk of being accused of repetition we will take our first illustration from the lowest race of men now existing, the natives of Central Australia, but in studying them we have to remember that even they are not really primitive : they are the product of long ages of isolation during which they have made advance in some respects and have degenerated in others. It is impossible to find among existing races any that are actually primitive in the true sense; we have to take them as we find

[1] Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, vol. i, p. xiv.
[2] Frazer, *op. cit.*, i. 115; ii. 18 ff.; iii. 118; iv. 4, 5, 27 ff., 101 ff.

them, and argue backwards to the past by a combination and elimination of the various surviving elements.

Now these Australians are Totemists, and while the consequent organization varies in different tribes, those which in some respects appear to be the most backward are totemically the most advanced. For example, that one of the Australian tribes in which Totemism is most fully developed, the Arunta, believe that every individual is a reincarnation of an ancestor who lived in the Alcheringa times, i.e. times beyond which no living memory goes.[1] These Alcheringa ancestors, when they departed, deposited a stick or stone known as a *churinga*, which was the abode of their spirit part; the local totem centre where a number of these spirits is congregated awaiting reincarnation is known as the *Oknanikilla*, and the particular tree or post or stone where a spirit enters a woman to be reborn is called a *churinga nanja*; should a woman pass the spot she will conceive unless she pretends to be old, and the child born belongs to the totem of that place irrespective of the particular totem of the mother or putative father. This is a special phase of Arunta totemism, but it is important in view of what follows.

The churinga are collected and deposited in sacred and secret storehouses called *Ertnatulunga*, usually caves in some secret recess of the hills. These Ertnatulunga are known only to the initiated, and no woman is allowed to enter or even go near them. The rites of initiation are very complicated, and in some respects disgusting, and include circumcision. They are performed on boys as they arrive at puberty; and the final act is the entry into the secret cave, and the exhibition of the sacred churinga, those belonging to each several totem being tied up in bundles, reminding us of Abigail's statement to David: 'the soul of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of life with Yahweh thy God; and the souls of thine enemies, them shall he fling out' (1 Sam. xxv. 29).

The boys are now fully initiated members of the tribal group, and having passed through the grave and gate of death (symbolically) have been born again, and enter on a new life. The initiation ceremony is a true sacrament of new birth. It is not a lustration, a baptism, for in the arid plains of central Australia

[1] See Chapter V.

there is no water, but it is a sacrament, the initiation of the youth arrived at puberty into the duties of manhood, and as such is equivalent to, or corresponds with Confirmation.[1]

Among the Yabim in New Guinea the rite of initiation includes circumcision, and a double lustration or bath in the sea, and is regarded as a process of death and resurrection: the candidate is supposed to die and to be born again. A similar ceremony of the new birth is or was performed among the Akikuyu of East Africa at the rite of circumcision with the same intent (cf. St. Paul in Rom. vi).[2]

The ceremony of initiation among the Fijians was most elaborate, and too long to be described, but it included these two ideas of death and resurrection, and this is the interesting point: it was followed by a sacramental meal of food and water of which all the initiated partook; then the high priest or one of the elders addressed the young men warning them solemnly against the sacrilege of divulging to the profane any of the high mysteries they had seen and heard, and threatening all such traitors with the vengeance of the gods.

Sir J. G. Frazer points out that there is an important difference between the drama of death and resurrection in New Guinea and Fiji, for whereas in the former it is the novices who die and come to life again, in the latter the drama is enacted by initiated men who represent the ancestors, while the novices merely look on with horror and amazement at the awe-inspiring spectacle. 'Of the two forms of ritual', he says, 'the New Guinea one is probably truer to the original purpose of the rite, which seems to have been to enable the novices to put off the old, or rather the young, man and to put on a higher form of existence by participating in the marvellous powers and privileges of the mighty dead' (shall we say, the glorified Christ?).[3]

Coming to races higher in the scale (these are only scattered illustrations): among the pagan natives of the Upper Niger the rite of initiation includes both circumcision and lustration, before

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *op. cit.*, chapters vii to ix and throughout; cf. Sp. and G., *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 177, 283, 327 ff.; Howitt, *The Native Tribes of South-East Australia*, 88, 509 ff.; Mrs. Langloh Parker, *The Euahlayi Tribe*, pp. 70 ff. Frazer, *op. cit.*, i, pp. 36 ff., iv, pp. 180, 217, 227 ff.

[2] Frazer, *Belief in Immortality among the Aborigines of Australia*, vol. i, p. 254.

[3] Frazer, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 429, 434.

which there is a preliminary period of training lasting from a few days to a month (Confirmation lectures). During this period the boys are instructed by the old men in the lore of the tribe. They are taught to be obedient and respectful. Corporal punishment is frequently administered. They may adopt for themselves new names such as Hippopotamus or Lion—symbols of their rebirth; these names, however, are dropped at the conclusion of the rites. During the whole period of initiation the presence of the Dodo or tutelary genius is felt: the boys see him at a distance and learn to fear him. The boys are now ready for circumcision. Among some tribes, not all, on the morning of circumcision the boys go through a baptismal ceremony by immersion in a stream. This custom clearly brings out the idea of the change of nature which is commonly associated with initiation ceremonies, and which is further shown by the feigned loss of their former personality when the boys return to the village. It is a true sacrament.[1]

Returning to Central Australia and its system of totemism, we find that contrary to the usual custom associated with the system each totem group was permitted at one time to eat freely of its own totem, with the idea of multiplying the species. This was done at the Intichiuma ceremony. It was in no sense with any notion of 'eating the god', for the totem is not a god, and indeed the Arunta are a tribe who have no use for a god or gods at all: accordingly the phrase 'a totem sacrament' employed by Robertson Smith has now been dropped.[2] And yet this ceremony of eating was 'sacramental' in so far as it was a

[1] Meek, *Northern Tribes of Nigeria*, vol. ii, pp. 86 ff.

[2] 'Totem Sacrament.' Since writing the paragraph in the text I have read Dr. Bronislaw Malinowski's article in *Science, Religion, and Reality*, 1925, on Magic, Science, and Religion, a truly helpful, informing, and careful study, and up-to-date inasmuch as he refers to all the most recent literature on the subject, as well as to his own researches in Melanesia.

In this Essay I find that Dr. Malinowski still uses the term 'Totem, or Totemic, Sacrament' to describe the quasi-sacred meal of the Central Australian tribes, and as I have hinted he is perfectly justified in doing so. The whole Essay should be studied, and particularly in this connexion pp. 43–6. It is an admirable investigation of the psychology of the primitive mind; one thing to be specially noticed is that this writer associates Totemism more closely with religion than the present writer has been inclined to do; in fact he makes Totemism a sort of half-way house between religion and the social arrangements of primitive society, and of course at the base lies magic, which

sacred, i.e. quasi-religious, performance intended to establish the relationship between the totem and its human representative. More recently the custom has been for the members of one totem group to eat the totem of another to increase the stock, e.g. the kangaroo people would only eat the emu, the plum-tree the witchetty grub, and vice versa, a most interesting example of primitive altruism, as Sir J. G. Frazer remarks.[1]

We come now to inquire into the origin and meaning of cannibalism, almost universally practised among primitive peoples.

Why did the Fijian warrior kill and eat his captured foe? He would tell you that it was in order that he might become a partaker of the qualities that had marked the victim. By virtue of the *mana* which he possessed he would acquire all the courage and prowess and other valuable qualities in which the deceased had excelled, and thus become a mightier warrior than before. This would be true as to whatever qualities the deceased might have possessed, and whether male or female, old or young. The idea is inherent in the practice of cannibalism, however loathsome it may appear to us; and where the victim was the representative of a god, as in Mexico and in many parts of Africa and elsewhere, to partake of the victim—whether human or, later on, animal, where progress in culture had led to the substitution—was to partake of the flesh and blood of the god himself. Sacrifice is become sacrament. This holds good still further when the offering of the fruits of the earth has been substituted for the immolation of a victim, and thus the way is

is the science of primitive man. For he writes: ' Totemism in its most elementary forms, as found in Central Australia, is a system of magical co-operation, a number of practical cults, each with its own social basis, but all having one common end—the supply of the tribe with abundance. . . . The existence of totemic clans and their correlation with cult and belief is but an instance of departmental magic and of the tendency to inheritance of magical ritual by one family.'

And further: ' From the survival point of view, it is vital that man's interests in the practically indispensable species should never abate, that his belief in his capacity to control them should give him strength and endurance. . . . Totemism appears thus as a blessing *bestowed by religion* on primitive man's efforts in dealing with his useful surroundings, upon his " struggle for existence ". . . . Thus we find a moral value and a biological significance in totemism.' (The italics are mine.)

[1] Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 206 ff. See Chapter V.

prepared for the ' Unbloody Sacrifice ' and sacramental communion of the Christian Church. Ideas as old as man, and still endowed with a living power among savages, are sublimated to the uses of the world's highest religion; while superstition, the surviving relics of these ideas of the antique world, still endows the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist with the actual Body and Blood of the crucified, risen, and glorified Christ.

As Sir J. G. Frazer remarks after a full discussion of the subject:

> It is now easy to understand why a savage should desire to partake of the flesh of an animal or man whom he regards as divine. By eating the body of the god he shares in the god's attributes and powers. And when the god is a corn-god, the corn is his proper body; when he is a vine-god, the juice of the grape is his blood; and so by eating the bread and drinking the wine the worshipper partakes of the real body and blood of his god. Thus the drinking of wine in the rites of a vine-god like Dionysus is not an act of revelry, it is a solemn sacrament.

We may pause here for a moment to note that, in common with many competent authorities, I do not hold that because the corn, for example, represented Ceres, or the vine represented Dionysus (in the primitive sense of the word ' represent '), therefore there was nothing behind the Corn and the Vine. Frazer, like Miss Harrison and others, appears at times obsessed by his theory. We hold, on the other hand, that behind the Corn and the Vine there lie real human beings who have become gods, as behind the Bread and Wine in the Eucharist there is the historical Jesus. Frazer himself admits this, as we have seen, in the case of Osiris. But to proceed:

> A time comes when reasonable men find it hard to understand how any one in his senses can suppose that by eating bread or drinking wine he consumes the body or blood of a deity. ' When we call corn Ceres and wine Bacchus ', says Cicero, ' we use a common figure of speech; but do you imagine that anybody is so insane as to believe that the thing he feeds upon is a god? ' In writing thus the Roman philosopher little foresaw that in Rome itself, and in the countries which have derived their creed from her, the belief which he here stigmatizes as insane was destined to persist for thousands of years, as a cardinal doctrine of religion, among peoples who pride themselves

on their religious enlightenment by comparison with the blind superstitions of pagan antiquity [or those of the primitive peoples of today]. So little can even the greatest minds of one generation foresee the devious track which the religious faith of mankind will pursue in after ages.[1]

So far Sir J. G. Frazer; and noting the trend of thought in a large section of the Church of England at the present time, we cannot but agree that there is only too much truth in his words!

When Baptism is held to produce a spiritual change *ex opere operato*, and the elements in the Eucharist are supposed to be ' transubstantiated ' at the word of a so-called ' priest ', we enter at once on the field of magic; and when Reservation is practised, not for the sick—that is, in many cases, a mere excuse—but for adoration and worship, we are landed in what is nothing less than fetishism and idolatry, although I yield to no one in my recognition of the deep religious feeling of those who practise it. The increasing prevalence of these beliefs and practices today is, however, a further serious indication of that recrudescence or revival of superstition in our age, which is so marked in other directions also.

This is the kind of religion which is being introduced into our English Church once more, with all its accompaniments of superstition and sacerdotalism and the consequent turning of the Christian ministry into a priestly caste, not far removed from, and but little above, the magicians, witch doctors, wirreenun, and priests of primitive man! Such is the circle in which ideas seem doomed to revolve!

How true the words:

> As giant oaks from tiny acorns grow,
> From small beginnings mighty issues flow.[2]

[1] Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., Part 5, 'Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild', vol. ii, pp. 167 ff.

[2] See *The Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, article ' Sacraments'; Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, vol. iv, 231–9; vol. i, 289, 370, 408; *Contentio Veritatis*, 'The Sacraments', by W. R. Inge, pp. 271–311. The whole article is worthy of study. For a moderate statement of the modern Anglo-Catholic view, see two articles on ' The Origin of Sacraments ' and ' The Eucharist ' in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, S.P.C.K., 1926. The following statements made by an Anglican clergyman are of interest in this connexion:

The crux of the whole matter of Prayer Book Revision lies in Reservation. Now, why should this cause such resentment? Why does the ordinary Eng-

lishman protest so strongly against it? Perhaps the two following incidents may make it plain.

A clergyman told this story at a clerical meeting. ' I was sent for to visit a sick man. I saw he was dying. I rushed off to the Church, got the *viaticum*, went back and gave it him just in time, indeed he died in my presence a short time after.'

Now the word *viaticum* means ' provision for a journey'. The elements were reserved in the Church to provide this man sustenance for the last long journey, or in other words a ' passport to Heaven'.

This is nothing else than superstition. Jesus Christ said, ' He that believeth in Me shall have everlasting life.' This Anglican priest practically said, ' He that receiveth the *viaticum* ', &c.

Again: ' Some years ago, I yielded to the entreaties of a wife to bring the Holy Communion to her husband, who was very dangerously ill. I feared he was too ill to understand, but did not like to refuse. The man opened his eyes, received the elements, murmured " Amen ", then lay down again asleep. He made a good recovery, had no recollection of the incident, and was aggrieved at the " trick played upon him". But the wife firmly believed that the elements as apart from prayer had saved his life, and that if he had died with the elements in his body his soul would have been saved.'

Here again was rank superstition. The reception was to act as magic. Now, Reservation gives colour to such ideas. The materials for the magical operation are kept ready for instant use on a death-bed. When a man asks for the Communion, which he has been accustomed to receive at his parish church, there is always time to administer it to him in the ordinary shortened way, as a help toward realizing the presence of his loving Master.

But where a man is urged on a sick bed to ' make his Communion ', and regards it as provision for his last journey, and making his peace with God, he takes it as clutching at the last straw, and ' anyhow it may do me good'.

It is this assumption of priestly power which so disgusts the ordinary Englishman, who has more common sense than many a priest.—From *The Church of England Newspaper*, 3 February 1928.

I have inserted this extract because the statements of the writer are borne out in my own experience, especially among the younger clergy of the Anglo-Catholic school. Many of these are too often inclined to push to extremes the supposed authority and power of the ' priest ', thus reverting to a type of religion repudiated at the Reformation.

CHAPTER XIX

CHRISTIANITY AND THE PRIMITIVE RACES

THE subject before us in this chapter is a vast one—embracing the whole of the non-Western world, i.e. I imagine, not only the ' immemorial East ', but also the native races of Africa, Australia, the Americas, New Guinea, and the islands of the Pacific—in fact, all the lands inhabited by races in varying earlier stages of evolution, as the East is in the later stages of the same process.

But first let me say a word as to what I understand by Evolution. By this term I understand no blind process in the struggle of living things for survival through adaptation to environment, but rather the ever-continuous working of the Immanent Spirit of the Living God towards a purposed goal, and in the following pages we shall discuss the appeal which Christianity makes to peoples in those earlier stages.

Of itself this is a large theme, because, if we take Australia and the Pacific Islands and pass thence to Africa, we find peoples in all stages of primitive thought from the lowest to the highest; and yet there are certain broad principles underlying all; and the questions we have to ask are: ' What are these? ' and ' How best may the appeal of Christianity be presented to these people? '—or rather, ' Does Christianity appeal to them, and is it calculated to meet their needs as no other religion can or does? ' In a word: ' Is Christ the universal Saviour? Does He meet the needs of each and every human heart? '

For example, it is sometimes said that Mohammedanism makes a greater appeal to primitive peoples, notwithstanding its cold and distant Deity, because it makes allowance for human weakness; in this world it permits polygamy, and in the next offers very material and sensual joys; it has not so strict a moral code (although it prohibits alcohol, which for these peoples is certainly a good thing); it lays no stress on sin, and it teaches that man is the sport of Fate—*che sarà, sarà*—that it is therefore of no use to struggle, to try to overcome adverse circumstances, and, by a shrug of the shoulders and a muttered ' kismet ', it kills

initiative and encourages sloth. In proof of this assertion we are pointed to the undoubted spread of Mohammedanism in Africa of late. 'It suits the native,' we are told, 'and falls in with the natural indolence of his disposition.'

Can Christianity, then, in spite of its insistence on monogamy, its stress on sin, its stricter moral code, make a stronger appeal to the native mind by virtue of its doctrine of the Saviour-God, of immortality, of divine help to be gained whereby Fate may be overcome and circumstances conquered, and by its offer of various rites—which we call 'means of Grace', and which have their analogues in ideas that are natural to him because they fall in with his own habit of mind—through which this divine help may be obtained?

The first necessity is to grasp the underlying ideas and principles of these primitive peoples to which Christianity may make its appeal with some hope of success. To ascertain these is the first duty of the missionary—indeed of any who would teach and raise them to a higher level of culture. Like St. Paul at Lystra or at Athens, we must know whom we are addressing and how to do it, if we are to reach the heart, i.e. to touch the sphere of the subconscious personality lying beneath phenomena. Hence every missionary should be first and foremost an anthropologist; only so will he be a capable builder on a foundation laid ready to his hand. As Mr. S. A. Cook points out in his *Study of Religions*, pp. 309–13: 'Any teaching for the benefit of an environment must necessarily be shaped so that it is applicable to the life and thought of the community . . . so missionary enterprise in ancient and modern times has been successful when a certain adjustment has been effected between the new and the old . . . and since this allows us to gain a better understanding of a level other than our own, we are widening ours, and thus contributing to our own psychical development. . . . The principle may be illustrated from a recent work (*Missionary Methods—St. Paul's or Ours*, 1912, by the Rev. R. A. Allen), which points out that the essential difference between St. Paul's missionary methods and ours lies in the fact that he seems to have encouraged the communities he founded to be independent, to act on their own initiative, and so to exercise their own responsibility. The apostle appears to have assisted

each environment to adjust his own teaching to itself, to have recognized and accepted what was not contrary to the spirit of his teaching, and to have implanted that spirit in such a way that religious " colonies ", as it were, speedily grew up.'

Let us see, then, what one such missionary says, who worked for years among the Ba-ila of Northern Rhodesia in combination with one of our fine British magistrates, who died unfortunately before the book was published: ' We wish to say that we have studied the Ba-ila, not as curious zoological specimens, but as fellow men and women.... We have devoted some of our best years to their improvement ... and to all who would follow us we would say: Learn to look at the world through the eyes of your people, make their language and ways of thinking as much as possible your own, saturate yourself in their folk-lore ... and withal, do not forget that these people are flesh and blood and soul as you and we are.'

These are wise words, learnt in the school of modern psychology, far as the poles asunder from the old manner of the missionary's approach; and the result is seen not only in a book which is one of the most valuable studies of native life that we know, but also in the proofs it gives of the tangible effect of such methods in the uplifting of the people so studied.[1]

What, then, are the religious ideas through which we may work upon the primitive peoples? The answer to this question depends upon what we mean by ' religion'. Many and various are the definitions that have been proposed: for example, there is Matthew Arnold's:

> Religion is morality touched by emotion;

but this hardly covers our ground; the simplest definition is that given by Sir E. B. Tylor:

> Religion is the belief in spiritual beings;

Sir J. G. Frazer carries us further:

> By religion I understand a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man, which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life;

[1] E. W. Smith and A. M. Dale, *The Ila-speaking Peoples of Northern Rhodesia*, vol. i, p. xiii.

that of Durkheim carries us further still:

> A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, i.e. things set apart and forbidden;

but a long road has been traversed before we arrive at this point.[1]

At the root of all religion, it is agreed to-day, lies what is called 'Animism', i.e. the doctrine of souls, that all things are alive, from which the next stage brings us to the doctrine of spirits, i.e. that all things are alive, not simply, or as it were inherently, but because they enshrine, so to say, and are the dwelling of, supra-normal beings called spirits. This is the seed of religion.

Even in Australia, where among certain tribes the idea of an 'All-Father' is found, altogether outside any possibility of missionary influence—it is necessary to emphasize this, because elsewhere, as among the Ba-ila, the idea of a Supreme Being is certainly not native but, as the very name *Leza* (evidently from the Portuguese pronunciation of Jesus) shows, is due to such influence—the notion has apparently grown out of the unifying of the ancestral spirits supposed to have lived in the 'Alcheringa' times. The process here is analogous to that which took place in Hebrew thought, in which the primitive 'Elohim', the powers and forces of Nature, the spirits animating her in all her varying aspects, become united into One; so that it became possible to use the verb in the singular with the noun in the plural, and to say 'Barà Elohim', and translate 'God created'.[2]

Thus, look where we will among these primitive peoples with whom we are concerned—we will go more into detail presently—we find (1) at the basis of their religion Animism, and (2) at the basis of their social system Totemism, more or less developed, and these two great systems, apart or in combination, are marked by thoughts and feelings to which Christianity cannot but make a powerful appeal.

First of all, associated with Animism, there is the thought of immortality—or rather, perhaps, of the persistence, the continuity, of life. That which has once had life, and all things are

[1] Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4th ed., vol. i, p. 424; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., Part 1, The Magic Art, vol. i, p. 222; Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of the Religious Life*, Book I, p. 42.

[2] See Chapter I.

alive, lives for ever. Life cannot be destroyed. But human beings die, to say nothing of the lower creatures; our fellows die all around us; we feel in ourselves the seeds of death as far as this present stage of being is concerned; what then? Death is not part of the order of nature; it must be the result of evil magic, and the man or thing through whom the evil magic has been wrought must be sought out and in its turn destroyed.[1]

Herein some have found the origin of human sacrifice, and of all the sacrifices which were substituted for it at a later stage of culture. The Australians, indeed, among whom the thought of the unnaturalness of death is very pronounced, had no developed sacrifices; but whenever a death occurred, the 'Wirreenun', or magician, was called in to find and punish the guilty. Sir J. G. Frazer deals with this subject in his Gifford Lectures, 1911–12, *The Belief in Immortality* (among primitive peoples), and to these I would refer; but before passing on, let me quote once more Mr. S. A. Cook on this point:

> We must assume the early realization of a vague feeling of continuity and persistence, for only on this assumption can we find a rational and psychological interpretation of those features in the world's religions which in some cases arouse our horror, but in others keenly call forth all our appreciation (*Study of Religions*, p. 202).

This 'assumption' a study of the primitive peoples proves to be correct. Death here is after all only in appearance. The spirit or shade, the real being, lives on; sometimes he becomes a terrifying ghost, sometimes a beneficent genius, but in either case he is more powerful now than he ever was in what we call 'life'. To this thought, to this feeling, Christianity surely has its appeal to make!

So with respect to the idea of God, which we find more or less fully developed everywhere. The missionary who knows something of psychology and anthropology cannot do better than follow the example of that great missionary, St. Paul, who presented the Supreme Being to the ignorant people of Lystra as 'the living God, the creator of heaven and earth and sea, &c., who left not Himself without witness, in that He gave us

[1] In West Africa, *per contra*, Dr. Schweitzer finds that death is regarded as natural, i.e. it is a matter of course.

rain from heaven and fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness', i.e. he presented the One in place of the many, the reality behind all outward shows in place of the vanities of human imagination.

And yet, as time went on, the Church was able to find room even for these 'vanities', in proper subordination to the One. On the one hand the old gods and goddesses were degraded to demons, identified with the devil and his angels—we see this as early as St. Paul, 1 Cor. x—and, inasmuch as the gods dwelt in the north, in the 'mountain of the Elohim' (cf. Ezek. i. 4; Isaiah xiv. 13), e.g. in the mountains of Armenia in Babylonian thought, on Olympus in Greek thought, that quarter, being also cold and dark, became the abode of Satan. Hence the repugnance which exists even to-day on the part of country people to being buried on the north side of the churchyard.[1]

On the other hand she utilized the gods by making their festivals the days of commemoration of the Christian saints, or even took them over bodily and adopted them, so that Isis and Horus become the Virgin Mother and her son, and so on.

And we may see how adroit she was by the volume of animistic thought which still survives in certain sections of the Church, among the ignorant peasantry of Europe, more especially in Italy and Ireland, e.g. the cult of the saints, the prayers and magical practices at holy wells, and such like. To the primitive people with whom we are dealing it is open to question whether such a presentation of Christianity does not make a stronger appeal than the somewhat abstract terms of a more spiritual faith. Hence the relatively greater success of Roman Catholic missions; what the Church of the early days found to be a wise method of procedure the Church of these days, under whatever guise Christianity is presented, may find also to be wise.

We may also note the universality of the practice of prayer. It may be merely the repetition of an incantation, viz. a charm, i.e. pure magic, or it may be merely the expression of a wish; but, in any case, it implies the possibility of communication with unseen spirits, and the thought that they care for man and will help him under certain circumstances.

[1] See Chapter IX.

When instead of being offered to the many it is addressed to the One we see a real evolution. Hence even Mohammedanism is an advance, but it is just here that it comes into direct conflict with Christianity.

Not to enlarge further on these points, we come to that on which I desire to lay special stress, viz. that it is in the sacramental rites of the Church that we may find that on which she may found her strongest appeal; and for this reason, that wherever we look among the primitive peoples, we find certain rites and ceremonies which have their analogues in those sacramental rites, and thus, that just as the Church appealed to the cultivated Greeks as a mystery religion and to cultured and primitive alike with her doctrine of the Saviour-God, so it must be to-day.

These rites may be divided into two classes: (1) rites of initiation and the attainment of the adult status; (2) ceremonial eating: the first is more particularly connected with animistic thought; the second may be a ceremonial partaking of the totem object, or a feasting upon what has been offered in sacrifice; but the meaning is practically the same, viz. the benefit of the participants or of those whom they may serve. In this connexion we must also notice the rite of blood brotherhood, which is very widespread. Examples could be quoted from the whole range of anthropological literature: one or two must suffice as illustrations.

We need not refer here to the more advanced Fetishism of West Africa, nor to the individualistic Totemism of the American Indians, nor to the various primitive peoples, such as the Todas, the Ainu, and others, in India and the Far East; some of them have been mentioned in earlier chapters.

As regards the first class we will content ourselves with referring once again to the customs of the most primitive peoples that we know of—though even these, as Frazer points out, are not really absolutely primitive, but the result of a long development; such as those of the Arunta tribe of Central Australia in which every native has to pass through certain ceremonies of initiation before he is admitted to the secrets of the tribe and regarded as a fully developed member of it. These ceremonies were fully described in the previous chapter and need not detain

us longer here. The second class may be illustrated by the Intichiuma ceremonies of the Arunta, also described there.

Where sacrifice prevails the sacrificial offering is followed by the feast upon the flesh of the sacrifice: this is too well known to need any examples. The object of the feast was to procure communion with the deity, who himself also partook of it by inhaling the smell, and to gain strength and well-being for the offerer; this is specially noticeable, for example, in cannibal feasts such as were prevalent in Fiji and some parts of Africa: the fallen warrior was sacrificed and eaten that his qualities of whatever sort might be transferred to the eater; i.e. the feast partook of a sacramental character.

The ceremony of blood brotherhood is one, also, that prevails very widely: in this case two men, for example, each open a vein, usually in the arm, and drink a little of each other's blood; thenceforth they are brothers, sharing each other's life and fortunes.

Some of the rites are simple and innocent enough; some are cruel and disgusting, especially those connected with initiation, if we neglect the meaning lying at the back of them. It was when discussing on one occasion some of the (to us) revolting rites of the Arunta (see above) that Andrew Lang remarked with one of his humorous sallies: 'Wanted, a missionary!' Yes, but it must be a man such as we have described; one who will enter into the spirit of those primitive folk, and appeal to their innate instincts on lines which they will understand; one who will make them feel that there is that in Christianity which fulfils in a better way the inner spirit and meaning of their own savage and barbaric rites.

Now these rites—initiation, ceremonial eating, and such-like—of the primitives must be recognized as the germ whence sprang the sacramental rites of the Christian Church, whether these were originally ordained by Christ or not. I think that they were, because 'He knew what was in man', and that only through the material can spirit have contact with spirit in *this* sphere of being. As a matter of fact the very words we speak are themselves sacramental. But in the process we see evolution at work.

So Christianity goes to these people and declares, like St.

Paul at Athens, 'Whom ye ignorantly worship, Him declare I unto you'.

She awakens the sense of weakness, of failure, of sin, which though obscured is really there, as these very rites testify. She points to God, the All-Father, no stern and distant deity, but a God of Love, a love manifested in the Saviour-God, His Son, however defined it matters not, Jesus Christ. This love is applied to heart and life by the indwelling or immanent Deity, whom we call the Holy Spirit, through rites and ceremonies of the simplest kind, yet corresponding with their own: Baptism, the laver of salvation, which with its complement, Confirmation, is the rite of initiation, the death to the old life, the new birth, the entry upon manhood and womanhood in the Christian Church; the Holy Communion, in which the partaking of the consecrated elements of bread and wine are, as it were, the feeding upon the totem (*reverentur dicendum*) for the increase of the body of the faithful, the feast upon the sacrifice, the brotherhood of blood, whereby all are bound in fellowship with each, and each with all, in the unity of the One Body. This union, thus mediated, gives both strength for the earthly life of conflict and service and the sure hope of immortality.

Hence, thus rightly, i.e. anthropologically, presented, Christianity will approve herself the one religion for the primitive, as for the cultured, races of mankind.

On the whole subject of this chapter I would refer, for fuller confirmation of the line herein taken up, to a book by one who is both clergyman and anthropologist, viz. *Primitive Ritual and Belief*, by the Rev. E. O. James, in which the author deals with the matter carefully and well, and arrives practically at the same conclusion as myself.

This conclusion is as follows:

> A study of primitive ritual and belief therefore reveals, among other things, a permanent element of truth—a progressive revelation. It shows how God, in His infinite wisdom, has led the human race onwards, not only in civilization, but also in a knowledge of Himself, from very lowly ideas, often indistinguishable from *mana*, to a doctrine which the Incarnate Son could claim as His own, and re-enforce with Divine authority; from very crude tribal hopes and aspirations to the realization of the perfect union with God

established through the 'tabernacling' of the Divine Logos among men in His Church, which is His Body. In the Catholic Creeds of Christianity the vital truths of all religions and magico-religious cults find a place.[1]

As Canon Cheyne once trenchantly remarked:

If we call Mohammed an impostor, and the Constantinople dervishes foolish fanatics, we shall on the one hand never commend the Gospel to Moslems, and on the other fail to see what constitutes the vital force of Mohammed and of Mohammedan fanaticism. A similar remark applies to our missions to the idolaters. If we ridicule the superstitions of their time-honoured beliefs, we on the one hand increase their prejudice against the Gospel, and on the other fail to understand the beliefs which we oppose. Not so did St. Paul at Athens. 'Ye men of Athens,' he cried as he looked up at the Parthenon, 'I perceive that in all things ye are full of a religious instinct.' The word 'superstitious' never crossed the lips of the Apostle to the Gentiles.[2]

One final quotation and I have done:

All the results of science, philosophy, and history can be accepted as the clothing of Christianity, for all these leave untouched the nucleus of the Christian religion. That nucleus has ever been, ever is, and ever will be, the same. And Christianity by means of this nucleus is capable of granting man what he needs. The essence of the nucleus is the eternal fact revealed in the life of the Founder —the union of the Divine and the human. This message of Christianity, exemplified in the life and death of the Founder, is the final solution to the riddles of the universe and of life.[3]

[1] James, *Primitive Ritual and Belief*, p. 239. Cf. the same writer on 'The Emergence of Religion', in *Essays Catholic and Critical*, above quoted.

[2] *The Hallowing of Criticism*, by Canon T. K. Cheyne, 1888, p. 73.

[3] *The Spiritual Ascent of Man*, by Dr. Tudor Jones, 1916, pp. 224–5.

CHAPTER XX

SURVIVALS IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

OUR earlier chapters have dealt with the survivals of animistic beliefs in the religion of Israel as we may find them in the pages of the Old Testament; in a previous chapter we have shown how such beliefs survive in the folk-lore and folk-customs of the people down to our own times; this book would not be complete without a short description of such beliefs as they existed in the popular mind in the age with which the New Testament deals. I say the popular mind, but as a matter of fact such beliefs lie at the root of the theology of St. Paul, to mention no other, although he was one of the most learned men of his time.

In his book, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, for example, Professor Wernle states: 'It is no doubt true that Christianity is a daughter of the Jewish faith: yet it strikes its roots deep down into a soil which we may call beliefs common to all the religions of antiquity. In that soil the characteristic features of the various religions of the ancient world are not as yet distinguishable. Among these common beliefs may be included the whole body of ideas concerning the earth, nature, man, the soul, and the world of spirits. Before the dawn of science these popular ideas bore undisputed sway, and they live on even to the present time engaged in a ceaseless struggle with scientific conceptions of the Universe.'[1]

Let us take first the synoptic Gospels, which give us the popular story of the earthly life of Jesus of Nazareth, though these are, as we know, later than the writings of St. Paul. In them, if we look carefully, we shall find embedded a mass of animistic beliefs which, as far as His human knowledge was concerned, were shared, or at least not condemned, by Jesus. Among these may be included all those cases of possession which were ascribed to demons. In the popular belief of the time all diseases were ascribed to evil spirits, especially those which are now known as epilepsy and derangement of the

[1] Wernle, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 1.

intellect. In all such cases we find Our Lord conforming to the popular belief and casting forth the demons by His power. In the case of the Gadarene swine He is even said to have allowed the demons whom He had ejected from the unfortunate lunatic whose dwelling was among the tombs to enter the animals, which were thereby impelled to run down a steep place into the sea and be destroyed.

I have spoken of His ' power '; this was a mysterious force which was believed to be associated with Him and which could be exercised both in His presence or at a distance; it resided not merely in Himself but in His raiment; for example, the poor woman afflicted with dysentery, who came to Him in the crowd as He was going to the house of Jairus, said, ' If I may but touch His garment I shall be whole '. Jesus fully believed in this power exercised by Him, but it is emphatically stated that faith was required on the part of the recipient. St. Mark tells us of one locality where that power could not be exercised: ' He could do no mighty work there because of their unbelief.' On the other hand, St. Matthew tells us more than once that great multitudes followed Him and He healed them all, in which cases we are to suppose that His power took a wider range, for not all the sick in such a mighty multitude would have individually the necessary faith. Here we have examples of what would be called in modern language cases of mass suggestion.

To place this power exercised by Jesus on the plane of primitive thought we should say that Jesus was possessed of *mana*, a term which has been sufficiently explained in Chapter I. A similar exercise of *mana* is found among the apostles of Our Lord. Thus in the book of the Acts of the Apostles (xix. 11–12) we read how ' God wrought special miracles by the hands of Paul, so that from his body were brought unto the sick handkerchiefs or aprons, and the diseases departed from them, and evil spirits went out of them '. On the same plane is that which we are told with regard to St. Peter in an earlier chapter (v. 14–15): ' Insomuch that they brought forth the sick in every street and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.' Here we are reminded of the belief of the West African native in the shadow soul which is part of a man's self. In West Africa, to

step on a man's shadow is to do him mortal injury; here the *mana* of St. Peter is so strong that even his very shadow is impregnated with it.

To return to the Gospels: the basis of Our Lord's teaching is to be found in His doctrine of the Heavenly Father, whose love is over all and without whom even a sparrow does not fall to the ground ; but He allowed the popular belief in angels and demons to go unchallenged—a belief, as we have seen, based on the primitive idea of the universality of life, so that everywhere spirits representing the good or evil forces of nature abound; in the case of the demons we have seen how our Lord sanctioned and turned to good ends this popular belief; in the case of angels He tells us that we are not to despise one little child, for ' in Heaven their Angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in Heaven'.

To come to St. Paul, upon whose writings the theology of the Church is largely founded, and who is therefore responsible for the mass of primitive belief to be found in that theology; it is this fact that makes traditional theology so difficult to reconcile with modern conceptions of the universe and of the psychology of man.

Professor Otto Pfleiderer in his *Primitive Christianity* shows very clearly that the Apostle Paul's theology, especially his doctrine as to the natural man, redemption, and life in the spirit—and therefore, to a larger extent than is generally recognized, the theology of the Church—is based ultimately upon primitive animistic beliefs. From these arise his conceptions as to the conflict between the body and the soul, that is, as he puts it, between the flesh and the spirit; the efficacy of Christ's sacrifice; and the life of the believer ' in the spirit '; from this, too, the efficacy of sacraments, as the Christian *mysteries* and means of grace. In this respect St. Paul is the true author of the sacramental system of the Church.

If the question is asked [he says], what are the sources or the affinities of Pauline Anthropology in general it must be said that it is neither Hellenistic philosophy nor Pharisaic theology, but a Christian modification of the popular Anthropology which was common to the whole of antiquity, and which we usually call Animism, according to which the soul or spirit is a generally invisible, yet not wholly

immaterial being, but which stands in so loose a relationship to the body as its containing vessel that it can at times pass out of it, just as other spiritual beings can temporarily or permanently enter into it and dwell in it.

Thus we remember how St. Paul tells us in 2 Cor. xii how on one occasion a man was caught up, whether in the body or out of the body he was unable to say, into the third Heaven, that is into paradise, and heard unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter. Here we have an example not only of St Paul's belief in the dissociation of the soul from the body but also an interesting example of his cosmogony, according to which the Earth is at the centre of the universe with three or more Heavens over it, at the summit of which God dwells with the exalted Christ and the holy angels, while below is to be found the abode of the departed and at lower depths that of the Devil and his angels.

St. Paul's view of sin, continues Dr. Pfleiderer,

as a demonic power, a spiritual being which dwells in the material body, which rouses the passions, enslaves the will, and causes death, corresponds exactly to the fundamental animistic view according to which all abnormal excitements of the soul life, whether in a good, or more especially in a bad sense, are referred to the overmastering influence of spiritual beings who take possession of man. . . .

According to this theory all extraordinary phenomena in the life of Nature and of man are due to the influence of spirits, or living creatures at once supersensible and sensible, which are not indeed bound by the limits of the gross, visible, corporeal world, but are not, on that account, wholly immaterial, but possess a finer, usually invisible aërial corporeity, as is, indeed, suggested by the fact that the word for spirit in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin is identical with, or closely related to, the word for wind and breath.

But for St. Paul the multitude of inspiring or good spirits are all condensed, so to say, or concentrated in the *one* spirit of God, which he regards as equivalent with the spirit of Christ, for ' the Lord is the Spirit '; exactly in the same way the animistic Elohim of the primitive Hebrews became condensed or concentrated in the one God, as we saw in the first chapter; for St. Paul, too, the power of the spirit is manifested in the Christian's virtuous life, which is the test of the so-called

miraculous gifts. St. Paul's statements on this subject are so numerous that we need only refer to 1 Cor. xii, where he describes the various gifts as all emanating from the one spirit.

But while St. Paul thus condenses all the properties of the good spirits into the one spirit of God or Christ he is a firm believer in the multiplicity of evil spirits. Thus, in his Epistle to the Ephesians, he tells us that our conflict 'is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the world-rulers of this darkness, against the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly, that is aerial, places'.

For the Apostle the whole air is full of these evil spirits in varying orders of power, just as for St. Peter the devil, in whom all the powers of evil are for the time being concentrated, is for ever going about like a roaring lion seeking whom he may devour.

St. Paul's belief as to these evil demons comes out most strongly in his discussion as to the Lord's Supper in 1 Cor. x. The discussion has arisen from the fact that certain Christians in Corinth have been invited to sit down at meals with their heathen friends, on whose tables meat offered to idols formed part of the repast. This meat, that is, had belonged to an animal which had been offered in sacrifice to a heathen god, and had afterwards been offered for sale in the market-place. Now St. Paul tells them the idol is nothing, that the whole earth is the Lord's and everything in it; but, he says, if any Christian friend says to you, this meat was offered in sacrifice to an idol, thinking that the idol is something, brotherly love would prevent you from partaking of it, lest you make his weak conscience to offend. The striking point about St. Paul's argument is that, though the idol is nothing, the heathen god is something very great and very powerful; he is one of those very demons against whom the Christian is pledged to fight. The table on which meat offered to an idol is exposed is a table of demons, and these demons are just as truly present at a heathen feast as the Lord is present in His own supper. You may be strong and ignore the fact that the meat has been offered to idols, or you may be ignorant of it, but no Christian with conscience of the idol, that is knowing it has been so offered, can partake of such food; for, cries the Apostle, ' The things which the heathen sacrifice, they

sacrifice to demons and to a no god; and I would not that ye should have fellowship with demons. Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of demons; ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and of the table of demons.'

It was this belief in the ubiquitous presence of demons who were themselves the old heathen gods and goddesses under the dominion of the 'Prince of the Power of the Air' which emphasized the unceasing conflict with them of the exalted Christ and the heavenly powers and energized the adherents of the new faith to contend manfully with the powers represented in the Roman Empire; it was this belief combined with all the Old Testament had to say in regard to witchcraft, divination, and suchlike which accentuated the tremendous outburst of demonology which characterized Christian Europe for a thousand years and survives in out-of-the-way quarters to the present day. It was only by assuming the existence of demons that the early Christian Church could explain the might of Rome and the power of the heathen world. And everywhere the clear distinction between good and bad spirits rests upon the foundation of the ancient animistic conception of the spirit-world.

At the same time we must not forget that St. Paul shared to the full the Jewish belief in angels. 'Angels, principalities, and powers' were very real beings to him; the hierarchy of heaven was an undoubted fact. Angels were as real as demons, and had their unseen influence on the affairs of nations and of individuals. The strength of this belief is a witness to the abiding character of ancient animistic conceptions in the subconscious personality of the Apostle.

A curious example of this belief is to be found in the 11th chapter of his first letter to the Corinthians, in a passage which seems to intrude somewhat unexpectedly between the discussion on the Lord's Table and the table of demons (in the 10th chapter) and the account he gives of the institution of 'the Lord's Supper' (at the end of the 11th chapter).

St. Paul is laying down the rules for worship in a decent and orderly manner. Men are to worship with uncovered head because they represent the highest order of created beings and stand, as it were, in the place of Christ; women are to worship with head covered, that is veiled, because they are subordinate to

man; and then he adds, with apparent irrelevance: 'For this cause ought the woman to have power (A.V. Gr. ἐξουσίαν) on her head *because of the angels*' (ver. 10). Many explanations have been attempted of this (to us) meaningless phrase, but to the anthropologist it is quite clear. The veil has magic power; without it women would be exposed not only to the assaults of demons but also to attempts upon their chastity by angels whom their unveiled charms would tempt; even as the 'sons of God', the *b'nê elohim* of Gen. vi, were tempted by the daughters of men, and according to the old story 'took them wives of all whom they chose'. Protected by the magic veil which hid them from view, women might worship in peace without fear of any distraction from angels.

We may be sure that the danger was a very real one to the mind of St. Paul, and the fact that it was so is another proof of the distance which separates his world-view from ours! As Miss Maud Royden once remarked, in another connexion, 'We have indeed got beyond St. Paul to-day'.[1]

Yet even to-day emancipated woman still covers herself with a hat in church, so strong is the influence of inherited ideas, although she has to a large extent divested herself of her long hair, which St. Paul affirms to be 'a glory to her'—a sentiment with which most men will agree.

But, after all, St. Paul's fundamental religion was the realization of a personal relationship with God; ever since the day on which the Lord had appeared to him on the way to Damascus God continued revealing Himself to him in visions and revelations, in new phases of knowledge which appeared suddenly, as though from unfathomable, mysterious depths the spirit of God whispered within him. But it was from the flame of fire that burnt within his own heart that God spoke to him. Such is religion: these are the marks of a living religion. So God had spoken in times of old to the fathers in the prophets, so too He spoke to Paul. This personal element in the Apostle's religion is something at once everlasting and yet quite new. Paul is a child of his own time too, he belongs to antiquity. So he knows yet another way in which God comes down to man: namely, in

[1] Cf. Dr. Peake's note on this passage in his Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in *Peake's Commentary on the Bible*, p. 842.

sacraments. Now sacraments are the external means by which, according to the faith of primitive man, God imparts Himself and allows man to share in His superhuman life and in His holiness. In sacrament, as we have seen in Chapter XVIII, man thinks he eats and drinks God Himself; so he makes a covenant of blood with Him when he smears his altar or stone or tree, and then himself, with the blood of a sacrificed beast, or eats the flesh with the blood. In thus accomplishing the sacramental rites he becomes a 'partaker', he is initiated into the mysterious life of the godhead.

Out of the dim dawn of prehistoric times remnants of this ancient belief, long abandoned by philosophers, and survivals of the old rituals, had lasted till the age of the Empire. They had even started into new life during the centuries immediately before the Christian era. They had been amalgamated with the hope of immortality and united with the worship of the gods of light, of the sun, and of spring. Thus we have the mysteries performed at Eleusis and the rites connected with Mithras, the deity who died in winter and during the night-time, and rose to a new life in the springtime and in the new day of eternity. The worshippers at these mysteries felt that they experienced such a dying and such a rising to a new life. The ideas founded on the primitive belief and enlarged in the mysteries were continued in the sacraments of the Catholic Church. We do not know who first transformed the Gospel of Jesus Christ by incorporating the two Sacraments. Jesus himself did not baptize, and even if on the last night He did compare the broken bread and the red outpoured wine with His tortured body and His shed blood it was a picture, a parable if you like, but not a sacrament in the sense of the Catholic Church. But in that age the Last Supper was bound almost at once to become a sacrament, and Baptism to be instituted as a sacramental consecration of all believers. So when we come to St. Paul we find the fact already accomplished. For him, just as for the worshippers at the mysteries, Baptism is a death and a rising again to a new life; for him the Bread and Wine in the Sacrament are already a partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ in a sensible and at the same time supersensible manner, through which we enter into a real union with the Heavenly Being; thereby St. Paul

took the first decisive step towards Catholicism. Here as it were polytheism made a breach, and not for the first time, in the walls of the religion of spirituality, of the inner spiritual motive. The two series of conceptions have never yet been harmoniously united under one system, for two entirely different religions here meet together. Instincts which had been handed down through thousands of years united with the new longing after higher spiritual life and wove the fantastic veil of the symbolic about the young religion of inward and spiritual grace; and the only shape in which it was as yet possible for mankind to conceive of symbols was the magical, that is, by means of sacraments. I have said, 'as yet'; but the circumstances of our own Church, and the arguments as to the necessity of the Reserved Sacrament which have been so prolonged in the discussion on the new Prayer Book, prove forcibly enough that mankind, too lethargic to enter into the reality of the spiritual, is only too eager to take the easier road which conceives of sacraments as a magical passport to the higher life.

So then the explanation of St. Paul's attempted synthesis of the old with the new, of magic and religion, that is, of the material with the spiritual, is to be found simply in the fact that the Apostle had no other forms at command for the expression of his Christian experiences than the animistic conceptions of primitive belief. When we have once recognized that the ground of the difficulty lies in the form of presentation which was inevitable in that age, we can the more easily, by withdrawing our minds from this, grasp and rejoice in the abiding kernel of the Pauline teaching. That teaching laid the foundation of a new religious system, which gives to man the strongest bond of union, of solidarity, of hopes for a better moral order, namely the bond of love, which taking root in the pious heart draws ever new nourishment from religious faith and hope, and finds the ideal which it must ever be seeking to realize in likeness to, and union with, the Eternal Son of God.[1]

[1] On the subject of this chapter see Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, vol. i, pp. 289, 290, 370, 376, 408, 409; Weinel, *St. Paul, the Man and his Works*, pp. 113–23; and compare Angus, *The Mystery Religions & Christianity* (Murray, 1928).

CHAPTER XXI

THE TEACHING OFFICE OF THE CHURCH

(BEING NOTES ON THE REPORT OF THE ARCHBISHOPS' COMMITTEE ON THAT SUBJECT)

IN his *Child's Garden of Verses* Robert Louis Stevenson says that

> The world is so full of a number of things
> I'm sure we should all be as happy as kings.

Whether kings are happy or not, the fact of the immense number and variety of the things with which the world is full should be sufficient to fill up the time and thought of every intelligent being who lives therein; no one has any possible excuse for 'killing' time, for finding it hang heavy on his hands, or for such a wretched complaint as ennui.

In this chapter, then, it is my purpose to consider some of the points made by, and the suggestions put forward in, the Report of the Committee appointed by the Archbishops in 1918 on the Teaching Office of the Church; and if in the course of it I state my own views and some of the results of my studies I hope my readers will believe that it is in no spirit of self-conceit nor with any desire to dogmatize, but because I am mindful of the precept 'Sutor, ne supra crepidam'; I can but speak of the things I have learnt and know.

I will take in the first place what is said in regard to the clergy, and in the second what is said as to the laity.

First, then, as to the clergy. There is no doubt that some hard things are said, and yet the unbiassed cleric must sorrowfully confess that they are only too true.

The Church is charged with failing to carry out duly her teaching office, and 'more particularly is the charge of failure directed against the clergy of the Church of England. . . . They fail as teachers because, while the standard of teaching has been raised, they have taken no advantage of new methods . . . they are deficient in intellectual alertness and courage'. The consequence is that 'the Church has not the influence it ought to have attained in the general life of the country'.

Taking the clergy as a body, in spite of the mass of useful literature connected with their own teaching office which has been put forth in recent years, and the existence of such useful societies as the Central Society of Sacred Studies, they do not read or study, and so they go on speaking ' in a conventional language which is apt to irritate their hearers'. Again : ' Many . . . owing to intellectual sloth and indecision, never seriously endeavour to make up their minds on disputed questions, such, for example, as Biblical criticism.' So says the Report.

The reply may be made that many are too poor to buy any books, or that they are overburdened with parochial and administrative work which should not properly be put upon them, and which takes all their time. Some declare that any leisure they have beyond these things is well occupied in playing bowls or bridge or, it may be, golf. This is all very well, but the ordination vow ' to study ' should not be forgotten. ' The result is that religion, as compared with other subjects, is presented with far less intellectual authority to the nation than it ought to be.'

No doubt other causes are also at work; as men grow older they become impervious to new ideas, and hence the curious phenomenon is seen of men content to go on turning over and preaching year after year their old bundles of sermons in a world which is continually seething with new problems, and in which the old truths need to be re-stated and put in a fresh setting.

It has been stated with truth that some minds, chiefly among the classes who attend elementary schools, close up at twelve or thirteen; a large majority close up between twenty and thirty; it is only the few who preserve ' the open mind ' and are able to assimilate new ideas to forty, fifty, or beyond. But surely the clergy, if any, should be among this latter class; all their training helps that way if they will allow it to have its proper effect!

> It might seem natural [says the Report] for the Church to look to the country clergy to help their overburdened brethren of the town in the maintenance of the general level of knowledge and of intellectual interest; but such a hope, it must be confessed, is not realized.

After expressing sympathy with the clergy who are exposed to the depressing influences of small and isolated country

parishes, and to the consequent loss of heart which is in many cases the cause of a complete neglect of study, it continues :

> Not a few among the busier and more conscientious clergy, even of those who have been good workers at school and college, and have perhaps even attained to some degree of scholarship, appear to think that it is idling away their time to study.

Having got thus far in our indictment of the clergy, we may comfort ourselves by quoting a few words that are said in regard to the laity, because they are indubitably true, as the experience of many an unappreciated clergyman will testify:

> There are many faithful, able, hardworking clergy; there are many good sermons preached; there is much admirable teaching; but the laity harden their heart and refuse to listen . . . a clergyman is deadened by the want of response to his efforts . . . Many of the laity exhibit often a half-hearted indifference,

and contact with such a temper naturally has its disheartening effect on the most earnest of men. At the back of everything, as the Report states,

> lies the fact, so well pointed out by Bishop Creighton, that Englishmen have, as a rule, little interest in ideas; it is practical activity which appeals to them, and they fail to see that there is in fact nothing more unpractical than an activity which is not based upon adequate knowledge and clear thinking. . . Religion imperatively needs all the brains we can bring to it, and the fact that such vast numbers of our people actually prefer in their clergy a general incompetence, which makes no demands upon them, to an intellectual keenness which asks them to think is precisely the fact which best shows the evil of our present ways.

Here I would add that the system of calculating the success or failure of a clergyman's work on a statistical basis—the number of communicants, of confirmees, of guilds or societies, of money collected, and suchlike—has a good deal to do with the erroneous criterion of work done.

Reference was made above to the modern study of the Bible comprised under the name of Biblical criticism, the Higher rather than the Lower. On this subject the Report has some wise words to which I will return presently; meanwhile it may not be out of place if I give some personal experiences.

It is now some forty years since I seriously began the study of the Higher Criticism, led thereto in the first instance by a lecture given in 1888 by the late Canon Cheyne in Lambeth Palace, and further drawn by a growing interest in anthropology and archaeology; and, putting on one side minor details on which opinions legitimately differ, the broad results achieved seem to me ever more sure and unassailable.

I shall never forget what a revelation it was when I first learnt from Wellhausen that in historical sequence the prophets preceded the Law; that is, that the completed system of legal observances as contained in the later strata of the Hexateuch was the law of the Church-nation as constituted under Ezra and Nehemiah and their successors after the Return from the Captivity in Babylon; that it was the Law, just as the Book of Psalms was the hymn-book, of the Second Temple. It was like the sight of an oasis to a traveller in the arid desert; thenceforth the history of Israel was focussed in its right perspective, and everything fell into its proper place. Then the three Codes—the Book of the Covenant (Exod. xx–xxiii), with the lesser book (Exod. xxxiv); the Deuteronomic Reformation of Josiah (Deut. xii–xxvi); and the Priestly Code (Numbers, and Lev. i–xvi, with the addition of the Law of Holiness, Lev. xvii–xxvi), with the adumbration of it in Ezekiel (xl–xlviii)—were seen to be three stages, separated by long intervals of time, in the evolutionary progress of Israel.[1]

Then, too, one saw how the documents of the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch—for the Book of Joshua which forms an integral part of the whole is the priestly story of the conquest of Canaan—fall into orderly sequence; how, for example, the story of early man in Genesis ii. 4–iv is the embodiment of the traditions current in Israel in the days of the kings, while Genesis i–ii. 4 is that which was brought back by the priests, purified from all taint of polytheism, after contact with Babylonian learning during the Captivity.

In the light of prehistoric archaeology and modern knowledge of the immense antiquity of man, nothing in the first eleven

[1] Dr. R. H. Kennett, Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, would bring both the documents E and J down to the seventh century B.C.—E in Northern Israel after 670 and J in Judah about 620—but this seems hardly to leave sufficient time for the Deuteronomic development. See Bibliography.

chapters of Genesis can be taken as literal history; indeed, while much that is related of the Patriarchs and of the sojourn in Egypt is probably founded on a true tradition, and the story of the conquest of Canaan as told in the Book of Judges brings us as near to the facts as we can get, there are some who say that there is no actual history till we arrive at the times of David and Solomon.

Taking these facts into consideration I would not go so far as to say with some that the Old Testament should no longer form part of Christian teaching, nor even so far as others who recommend that the first eleven chapters of Genesis should be ' scrapped ' (they are most valuable as a record of God's dealings with man), but there is required a vital change and readjustment in our outlook and methods of teaching. To quote the Report once more:

> The cultured and intellectual laity are not ignorant of the results of Biblical criticism . . . and they not unnaturally desire that the light of knowledge and sound learning should be thrown on religious questions.

But what about the people who are not cultured or intellectual? Here, no doubt, we must proceed cautiously, but above all we must be sincere. It is best to begin with the children, at home and school. I well remember the beloved Arthur Lyttelton, bishop of Southampton, with whom I worked for a time, telling me he intended so to teach his own children in regard to the Old Testament that they should have nothing to unlearn when they grew up. How unspeakably good it would be if this were the universal practice! But we should have to begin with a drastic revision of the text-books in ordinary use, and above all with the syllabus of religious instruction in the elementary schools. It is absurd to continue teaching Genesis as if it were history, and to make the children learn all the details of the wanderings in the wilderness and the wars of conquest, and the names and dates of the kings of Israel and Judah, and so on. These are no part of religious instruction, and, in stressing them, we are like those who tithed mint and anise and cummin, and neglected the weightier matters of the Law! Rather should we aim to show how the teaching of the Prophets

and Psalmists reveals man's growing experience of God; and how all God's providential guidance of Israel prepared the way for the coming of the Christ, in whom all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge are comprised. The Church has adapted herself to the Copernican view of the universe, and to the story of the earth as revealed by geology; it is time she adapted herself to the story of man in his wonderful upward progress from prehistoric to historic times, in the ever widening process of evolution under the guiding hand of God.

The New Testament also must be taught in the light of modern knowledge; that is, we must recognize that the four Gospels can no longer be regarded as of equal and co-ordinate importance in the history of the earthly life of Jesus Christ. We must base our knowledge of that life upon St. Mark, whose book is after all a good deal later than the Epistles of St. Paul, and we must show how St. Luke and St. Matthew are dependent upon him, and have combined with the data derived from his book other data taken in differing ways from the documents known as the Logia, or Q, together with some details derived from sources peculiar to themselves; the Gospel of St. John must be regarded as standing by itself, and must be taken, not as historical in the strict sense, except in some details on which it gives special information, but rather as the story of the Saviour's earthly course, as it presented itself in the memory of one who had companied with Him, or been a companion of such a one, and coloured by the media through which it has been filtered. It is, it has been well said, ' the picture of the Christ mirrored in the experience of the Christian soul', and it moves on the plane of eternity, not of time.

Again, it must be realized that the theology of St. Paul is an advance on that of the primitive Church, and the letters of that Apostle must be studied in their sequence, so that the fact may be grasped that he grew as his experience widened and deepened; thus the writer of the epistles to the Thessalonians is at a much earlier stage than when he wrote those to the Romans and Galatians, and by the time those to the Philippians, Ephesians, and Colossians were written—if indeed they were by him and not a sub-apostolic redaction of his later teaching—he was at a further stage still. The eschatological setting of the earlier epistles fades away and is absorbed in the ideal of the glorified Christ,

who is the head of a Body which is existent on the eternal plane but not yet realized on earth, the Church which is His Body, ' the fullness of Him that filleth all in all ', His glorious Church, ' not having spot or wrinkle or any such thing '. That Church it is the mission of each succeeding generation of Christians, our mission here and now, to help to build up, and to guide forward to an ever growing perfection in Him.

Again, the Apocalypse must not be taken as something apart, but as forming an integral portion of a great body of literature, of which there is an example in the Book of Daniel in the Old Testament, and which includes that whole outburst of apocalyptic fervour which characterized Jewish writers in the first century B.C. and later, such as the Book of Enoch, the Testimony of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Apocalypses of Moses, Isaiah, and others, all of which have been made available for modern students by the labours of Archdeacon Charles and others. Among these we may include the Epistle of Barnabas, the Shepherd of Hermas, and other Christian writings. These were all evoked by the exigencies of their respective periods, and were intended to encourage and stimulate the servants of God in the midst of fiery trials and persecutions with the thought of His sure triumph, that righteousness must in the end be victorious, that Might shall not for ever prevail over Right.

In this rapid sketch we have traversed a wide field which each one who reads this book can cultivate more thoroughly as his tastes direct; it is at least a field that must not be left uncultivated!

For our special purpose in these pages let me emphasize what the Report says about the ' teaching of the Bible ': ' The progress of the Higher Criticism has created a situation of difficulty for teachers' ; and these difficulties it proceeds to meet in a most helpful manner, if we have the open mind, but the principal thing for all to remember is that ' great care should be taken to recognize in teaching the principles of progressive revelation '. This indeed lies at the root of all successful teaching of the Bible, and is fully substantiated by the writer of the so-called Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. i. 1).

Many helpful books are now to be found for the use of teachers and scholars, of which I mention a few in the Biblio-

graphical Note appended to this book. In the Report itself Dr. A. Nairne contributes a valuable article on the teaching of the Old Testament in schools.

In conclusion I may quote a paragraph which throws a welcome light upon the vexed question of the place of the intellect and the emotions in religion:

> We desire to impress upon the Church how important for its welfare a strong intellectual position is. This is not always recognized. It is argued that religion means the spiritual life, that Christians are known by their fruits, that questions of theology and philosophy are of secondary importance and the interest in them confined to a few, that religion is of the heart rather than of the head. There are elements of truth in all this; a religion based only on the intellect would have little power to move mankind. But unless the reason is convinced it is not possible for an emotional appeal to be permanently effective; and this is true not only of individuals but also of masses of men. People generally, though their reasoning is instinctive and not formal, are profoundly if unconsciously influenced by the spirit of the age, and a message which does not correspond to their mental wants will pass unheeded.

This is more true than ever before in an age like the present, when Science looms so largely on the mental horizon of mankind, and no statements that cannot pass the bar of Reason are allowed to influence the critical student of historical probabilities.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

The references to the literature of the subjects dealt with in this book have been given so fully in the text that a detailed Bibliography is unnecessary. Moreover, the books referred to are themselves full of references to books which are useful to students.

My references to the customs of the natives of Australia are taken from Spencer and Gillen's earlier publications. Sir Baldwin Spencer has this year published a new book entitled *The Arunta*, bringing our information up to date. No modification of the facts given is needed, and the deductions drawn are practically the same. It is sad to note that whereas the numbers of the tribe in 1899 amounted to some 3,000 they are now reduced to a poor 600 members, and before long may probably, like the Tasmanian natives, become extinct. It is all the more fortunate therefore that so elaborate a study was carried out before it was too late. One or two changes of terms may be noticed: for example the word 'ertnatulunga', so often used, is now replaced by the word 'pertalchera', which has reference to the 'Alcheringa' times, and means the Alchera rock or hiding-place; 'ertnatulunga' is the word used by one totemic group, the Udnirringita, which was the first studied. The word 'wirreenun' as the name of the tribal magician also disappears, and is replaced by the English words 'magic men' or 'wizards'; so too the words 'nanja' and 'oknanikilla' become 'knanja' and 'knanikilla', and 'erathipa' becomes 'ratappa'. As the author says: 'To decide on the correct spelling of native words used by a savage tribe that has no written language is a matter of great difficulty' (*The Arunta*, vol. ii, p. 609). The book is characterized by all Sir Baldwin Spencer's powers of observation and lucid description and is worthy of careful study.

In chapter V reference should be added to Professor Baldwin Brown's new book, *The Art of the Cave Dweller* (John Murray, 1928) and to *South Africa's Past in Stone and Paint*, by M. C. Burkitt, M.A., F.S.A. (Camb. Univ. Press, 1928). These are the most elaborate studies of the subject which have hitherto appeared in English, and the purely artistic and magical elements of this animal art are fully discussed.

In chapter XVIII Dr. Buchanan Gray's *Sacrifice in the Old Testament* (Oxford University Press, 1925), which corrects many of the late Professor Robertson Smith's conclusions, should be mentioned; and also Dr. Angus's *The Mystery Religions and Christianity* (John

Murray, 1928), which is a most valuable contribution to the study of this subject.

In chapter XXI the following short list may be useful to students:—

The Biblical History of the Hebrews. F. J. Foakes-Jackson.

The People and the Book. Edited by Prof. A. S. Peake.

The Old Testament : its meaning and value. Malden.

An Introduction to Old Testament Study. Basil Redlich.

Hints on Old Testament Theology, Professor Duff (Black, 1908), is a useful little book.

Introduction to the New Testament. Moffatt.

Peake's Commentary on the Bible. One vol., Jacks, 1920.

Old Testament Essays. Dr. R. Kennett (Cambridge, 1928).

A few words must be said in regard to Dr. Kennett's volume. As I have already stated in a note, page 238, he reduces the dates of the documents J, E, JE, and D to an extent which to me appears unsupported by the evidence, and which, so far as I know, has not been broached by any previous critical student. I would refer to my review of the book in the *Hibbert Journal*, October 1928.

The late Professor Driver's *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (T. & T. Clark), which has reached many editions, is now a classic, and should be in the hands of every student.

It may not, in addition, be out of place to mention my own book, *Prehistoric Archaeology and the Old Testament* (T. & T. Clark, 1908), which only needs bringing up to date in regard to some archaeological details affected by more recent discoveries; the main argument is as valid now as then.

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